
SPECTAMUR AGENDO


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THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, ECCLESIASTICAL and CIVIL: FROM THE *Creation to this preſent Time.* WITH Chronological REMARKS.

By the Learned

M. *CHEVREAU.*

In Five Volumes.

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With a large Alphabetical *INDEX* of the principal Matters, Perſons, and Places.

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THE

CHAP. I.

Of the Foundation of Rome. *Of the Kings of the* Latins, *and of the Kings of* Rome.

Latium had the ancient *Etruria* on the Weſt; the *Tyrrhenian*, or the neither Sea, on the South; the *Sabines* and the *Samnites* on the North. The former lay betwixt the Rivers *Nera*, *Tyber*, *Teverone* and *Velino*; and the Country of the *Samnites* contained a part of that which is now called hithermoſt *Abruzzo*, the Dutchy of *Benevent*, a part of the Country of *Moliſe*, of *Capitanate*, of the farther Principality, and of the Country of *Lavoro*. There was an *Old* and *New Latium*; this latter extended from *Terracina* to *Minturnæ*, a City built on the Right-hand Bank of the *Liris*, or *Garigliano*; the *Old* only as far as *Terracina*, named *Anxur* by the *Volſci*, a People of the Weſtern part of this *Latium*, the Capital City of which was *Rome*. There is mention, in *Plutarch* and *Solinus*, of the Horoſcope of this City, which, according to ſome Authors, had the name of *Amaryllis*, and that of *Anthuſa*, or *Flouriſhing*. And if we will believe the ſame *Solinus* and *Feſtus*, it had at firſt the name of *Valentia*, which was changed to that of *Rome*, which it may be, is no more derived from the Greek Ρωμὴ, i. e. *Strength*, than from the Hebrew *Rom* or *Roma*, which ſignifies *Elevation*, *Height*, *Eminence*.

Some have written that a *Trojan* Woman, named *Roma*, landed in *Italy* before *Æneas* with the *Trojans* fled from the Conflagration of their City; that ſhe married *Latinus* King of the *Aborigines*, or the firſt People who inhabited *Italy*; that by *Latinus* ſhe had *Romulus* and *Remus*; and that they gave their Name to the City which they built. Others ſay, that *Ulyſſes* had by *Circe* three Sons, *Romus*, *Annius*, *Ardea*, who founded three Cities of their own Names; and there are ſome who believe that *Rome* was named from *Romus*,

Romus, Son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent from *Troy* into *Italy*. Some will have it, that the name of *Rome* came from *Romis* or *Roma*, a King of the *Latins*; and there is a great diverſity of Opinions on this Subject, and he who knoweth them, knoweth at beſt but trifles.

Romulus according to *Ennius* and *Nævius*, was the Son of *Ænæas*'s Daughter; and if we may rely on *Agathocles* of *Cyzicum*, *Strabo* and *Cluverius*, *Æneas* never landed in *Italy*. There was no Grandſon of *Numitor* named *Romulus* or *Remus*; and the City of *Rome* was built by the *Arcadians*, whom *Evander* carried into *Italy*, and who ſate down on the Banks of *Tyber*. Some believe that *Magdiel* was the firſt Founder of *Rome*, whoſe Walls and Gates were raiſed by *Romulus*. Opinions too are much divided as to the time of its Foundation. It was built according to moſt Chronologers, either 384, or 432 Years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, or about the ſame time that the *Tyrians* built *Carthage*, 38 Years before the firſt *Olympiad*, or in the fourth Year of the firſt Olympiad, the third or fourth Year of the ſecond, or the third Year of the ſixth, the firſt or the ſecond Year of the ſeventh. But the time of its Foundation is not certain, and even the Name of its Founder not known.

The common Opinion then is, that *Rome* was named from *Romulus* its Founder; that he was the Son of *Mars* and *Rhea Sylvia* or *Ilia*, a Veſtal Virgin, the Daughter of *Numitor*, and Niece of *Amulius*; that *Amulius* having commanded that *Romulus* ſhould be thrown into the River, together with his twin Brother *Remus*, and the Order not having been punctually executed, they were found on the Banks of *Tyber*, by a Woman named *Lupa*; who poſſibly had this name from her ill Life, but who took care to Nurſe them. This occaſioned the Story, that they were ſuckled by a She-Wolf; and it may be alſo *Romulus* having had *Mars* in his Aſcendant, they gave out that he had *Mars* for his Father, becauſe he was really valiant; and becauſe they call all that are brave, *Children of* Mars, as they call thoſe whoſe Fathers are

not known, *Children of the Sun.* All these remarks are but Conjectures, and the rest may be rank'd amongst Fables.

Before we enter on the Succession of Kings of *Rome*, it is necessary, in some sort, to set down that of the Kings of the *Latins* after the destruction of *Troy*, and to remember, that *Æneas*, the Son of *Anchises*, and Son-in-law of *Latinus*, from whom the *Latins* had their Name, was slain in a Battel 426 Years before the building of *Rome*, and that *Latinus* reigned thirty five Years.

The Kings of the *Latins*.

The Years of the World.		Years before the birth of Christ,
2791	*Æneas* reigned three Years.	1180
2795	*Ascanius*, the Son of *Æneas*, 38.	1176
2833	*Silvius*, the Son of *Ascanius*, 24.	1138
2862	*Æneas Silvius*, 31.	1109
2893	*Latinus Silvius*, 15.	1078
2944	*Alba Silvius*, 39.	1027
2983	*Capetus Silvius*, 26.	988
3009	*Capys Silvius*, 28.	962
3037	*Capetus Silvius*, 13.	934
3050	*Tiberius Silvius*, 8.	921
3058	*Agrippa Silvius*, 41.	913
3099	*Alladius*, or *Aremulius Silvius*, 19.	872
3118	*Aventinus Silvius*, 37.	853
3155	*Procas* or *Palatinus Silvius*, 23.	816
3178	*Amulius Silvius*, 42.	793

The whole Sum 387 Years.

1 AP 64

This whole Succession appears to me somewhat suspicious, and he that takes it for a Chimera, is not, I think, mistaken; but having seen the Kings of the *Latins*, either real or imaginary, we must now speak of the Kings of *Rome*. They reigned two hundred and sixty Years, according to some, who will have *Ancus Martius* to have reigned 38 of them, and *Tarquin*

quin the First 44. Others have written that they reigned but 247, as you may see by the following Table.

The Kings of *Rome*.

		Years of their Reign.
1	*Romulus*	37
2	*Numa Pompilus*	43
3	*Tullus Hostilius*	32
4	*Ancus Martius*	24
5	*Tarquin* the First	42
6	*Servius Tullius*	44
7	*Tarquin* the Proud.	25

Romulus, whilst he was yet but a Youth, attacked his Uncle *Amulius*, who had usurped the Crown of *Numitor* his eldest Brother; dispossessed him of the Fortress which he held, and re-established his Grandfather *Numitor*. He built *Rome*, and caused, as 'tis said, his Twin-Brother *Remus* to be put to Death, who according to some Historians, was knocked down by the Architect, whom he ridiculed for not having made the Trenches for the Foundation and building of the Wall, large enough. However that be, most agree that he enclosed within *Rome* the Mount *Palatine*, the Capitol, a thousand Houses, and a certain Temple, which he named an *Asylum*, or Sanctuary for Criminals, fugitive Slaves, and other People who could not continue in their own Country with safety or reputation. By this means he saw the number of the Inhabitants increase, who at first were but three hundred Horsemen, and twelve hundred Foot; or according to some Historians, three thousand three hundred Men. There wanted Women to People the City; and these Vagabonds could get none from their Neighbours, who held it disgraceful to make any Alliance with them. *Romulus*, who dissembled his resentment, invited them by a publick Proclamation to the sight of a Horse-race; and as there went a great company of Maids out of the Country of the *Sabines*, and some

other little Provinces, to partake of this diverſion, all theſe Maids were forcibly taken away by the *Romans* who married them. Thoſe of the City of *Cenina*, which was not far from *Rome*; thoſe of *Antemna*, which was 40 Furlongs, or 5000 Paces diſtant; and thoſe of *Cruſtumerium*, where at this Day ſtands *Marcigliano Vecchio*, took Arms to revenge ſo great an outrage, and were defeated by *Romulus*, who with his own Hand ſlew *Acron* King of the *Ceninenſes*, or *Ceninetes*, and who having taken *Cenina*, ordered his Soldiers to pillage it. He triumphed for theſe Victories over his Enemies; he entred *Rome* clad in a purple Robe, ſitting in a Chariot drawn by four Horſes, before which walked all the Priſoners he had taken, and after followed all his Soldiers with their Spoils. The other *Sabines*, having received Succours from their Allies, marched againſt the City of *Rome*, the Capitol of which was betrayed to them by *Tarpeia* the Daughter of *Tarpeius*, who was Governor of it; and whereas ſhe had demanded for her Reward, what they wore on their Left-Arms, meaning their golden Bracelets, they knocked her down with their Bucklers, and killed four hundred Men which were put in the Place for the defence of it.

To drive them thence, *Romulus* ſent *Hoſtius Hoſtilius*, who received a Wound, of which he died; and perceiving his Soldiers to give ground after the Death of their Commander, he rallied them, encouraged them, and charged the Enemy with ſuch vigour, that he forc'd ſome of them to fly, and others to ſave themſelves in the Capitol. They were preparing for a far more bloody Fight, when the Women, who had been taken by force, ran all into the void ſpace, betwixt the Army of *Tatius* King of the *Sabines* and that of *Romulus*, and after hideous Out-cries, repreſented to one ſide, *that they were armed againſt their Husbands*; to the other, *that they were going to kill their Fathers and Brethren.* The *Romans* and *Sabins*, moved with their Tears and Prayers, threw down their Arms to embrace one another, and took a ſolemn Oath. that they would never make War againſt one another.

They

They were so far from violating this Promise, that the *Sabines* went to dwell at *Rome*, where they were admitted to the Freedom and Priviledges of the City, as was agreed betwixt them; and *Tatius* himself incorporated all his Territories with those of the *Romans*, on condition that he should have equal Power in *Rome* with *Romulus*, and the Title of King. He lived in the Capitol which he had conquered. *Romulus* chose the *Palatine* Hill; and as the Women were the Authors of this Peace, they honoured them with great Privileges, and it was on this account they instituted the Feasts stiled *Matronalia.* to be annually observed. The body of the Senate, which *Romulus* had composed of a hundred Persons, was by *Tatius* augmented with the like number; he also erected Temples to the Deities, which were worshiped by the *Sabines*, and one among the rest to *Vesta*, as *Romulus* had raised one to *Jupiter Stater*, which he had vowed, when he stayed the greatest part of his Soldiers, who after the death of *Hostilius* turned their Backs on their Enemies.

Their common Joy was afterwards disturb'd by the People of *Cameria*, a Colony of the *Albans*, whose Hostilities were punished by a defeat and the destruction of their City. *Tatius* some time after permitted the *Sabines* to make Incursions into the Territories of those of *Lavinium*, where now stands *Citta Lavinia*, or the Hill of *Monte di Levano*. The *Sabines* were not wanting to make their Advantage of the Liberty that was given them; and notwithstanding all the entreaties which the *Lavinians* made to oblige *Tatius* to treat them better, he had no regard, neither to their Reasons nor to their Prayers; and the Soldiers assassinated the very Ambassadors who complained of them. He was punished for this Injustice, for going towards *Lavinium*, some of these Ambassador's Kinsmen murthered him.

Romulus after this King's Death, for which he was concerned, resolved to attack *Fidenæ*, a City built on the Bank of the *Tiber*, where now stands *Castel Giubileo*, in the Country of the *Sabines*. His Citizens

had ſeized on Corn, which thoſe of *Cruſtumerium* were ſending to *Rome*; and reſolving to keep it, he marched againſt them, defeated them, and took *Fidenæ* and ſacked it. The People of *Veii*, the Capital City of *Hetruria*, where now ſtands *Scrofano*, and accordiug to others, the little City of *Iſola*, not being able to ſuffer this glorious progreſs of *Romulus*, demanded of him the reſtitution of *Fidenæ*, it having been their Allie; and when he perceived that they were jealous of his good Fortune, and that they only ſought for pretences to Quarrel with him, he marched againſt them, cut off 22000 of their Men in two Battels, and beſieged the City of *Veij*, which was forced to Capitulate. He had without doubt carried his Conqueſts farther; but the Senators, who could no longer brook the Contempts he put upon them, reſolved to murther him, and make a God of him. They did indeed aſſaſſinate him, and an Eclipſe of the Sun, and a Tempeſt, happening at the ſame time, the 7th of *June*, *A. M.* 3256, they poſſeſſed the People, that *Romulus* was taken into Heaven by a Whirlwind.

His Death changed the form of Government, and the Senate, conſiſting of *Romans* and *Sabines*, they reſolved to chooſe, by Lot, five Men of each Nation, to Rule five Days alternatively, until they had found one, who ſhould, by common conſent, be adjudged worthy to fill the Throne. By this way of Government, which was of no long duration, they well perceived, that it was far more beneficial to a State, to have but one King, than to be ſubject to many Sovereigns; and in the Year 3258, *Numa Pompilius*, the Son of *Pompo Pompilius*, had at laſt, the Voice of the whole Senate, and all the People. He was a plain Citizen of *Curis* or *Cures*, the Metropolis of the *Sabines*, near the River *Himella*, now *Aja*; and when they had brought him out of his City, and proclaimed him King, he disbanded *Romulus*'s Guards, and believed that he had better make himſelf loved than feared. As the Year conſiſted but of 304 Days, which *Romulus* divided into 10 Months, he by adding 50 Days to it, made it conſiſt of 12 Months. He eſtabliſhed the

the High-prieſts, the Augurs and the Prieſts, regulated the Ceremonies of the Sacrifices; the Order of Veſtal Virgins; the Pleading Days; and ſhewed by his Actions and his Laws, that he found nothing more neceſſary in a State than Religion and Juſtice. He died, aged 80 Years, after he had built the Temples of *Janus* and of *Faith*.

Martius a *Sabine*, who had married *Pompilia* the Daughter of *Numa Pompilius*, made ſome pretenſions to the Crown; but *Tullus Hoſtilius*, the Son of *Hoſtius* and of *Herſilia*, was proclaimed King, as well for his own merit as for the ſake of *Hoſtius Hoſtilius*, who was Slain when the *Sabines* made themſelves Maſters of the Capitol. He diſtributed among the poorer ſort of People, who were at that time miſerable enough, all the Lands wherewith the two former Kings maintained their Courts, and reſerved to himſelf, only what he poſſeſſed when he was a private Perſon. Having Intelligence that the *Albans* had taken Arms, he marched againſt them with his beſt diſciplined Troops, and whilſt they were on their March, Death overtook *Cluilius*, in whom the *Albans* had all their Confidence. *Metius Suffetius*, who ſucceeded him, but wanted his Courage and Conduct, ſent a Meſſage to *Hoſtilius* for a Treaty of Peace; and it was agreed that their Differences ſhould be decided by the Combat of three *Curiatij* of *Alba*, with three *Horatij* of *Rome*, and that the Conquerors ſhould give Laws to the conquered. By the ſucceſs of this Combat, the *Albans* were obliged, ſome time after, to join their Forces with thoſe of *Tullus Hoſtilius* againſt the *Veientes* and the *Fidenates*; and *Metius* had the command of them, with a deſign to ſerve theſe People againſt the *Romans* when the Armies were engaged; but the moment he left his Poſt, without any Order from *Tullus Hoſtilius* to do ſo, this King ſuſpecting his treachery, vigorouſly charged the *Veientes* and the *Fidenates*, of whom the greateſt part were Slain; he took *Metius*, and ordered him firſt to be ſeverely whipped, and then his Arms and Legs to be faſtened to two Chariots, which being drawn by Horſes oppoſite ways, tore this Traitors

tors Body in pieces. *Tullus Hoſtilius* obtained afterwards a conſiderable Victory over the *Sabines* who had not left their Country, but in the mean time had robb'd and made Slaves of ſome *Roman* Merchants, without any regard to the Alliance betwixt them and the *Romans*, who treated them as Brethren. He much improved the Art of War; and when he hoped quietly to enjoy the Fruits of his Labours, *Ancus Martius*, not being able to endure that he ſhould be preferr'd to his Father *Numa Martius*, who had married *Pompilia*, bent his whole thoughts to take a revenge on him for this preference, which he look'd upon as unjuſt. Having aſſembled ſome Ruffians for the Execution of his Deſign, he ſlew every one, of both Sexes, that he found in the Palace, which he burnt; killed the King; and the noiſe of Thunder being heard at *Rome* at the ſame time, he commanded that it ſhould be given out, that the Palace, the King and his Domeſticks, were conſum'd by Lightning.

Ancus Martius the Regicide, was choſen King in the Year * 3333; and how ill an Opinion ſoever his Neighbours had of his Courage, he took ſome Cities from the *Latins*, whom he beat; he took *Fidenæ* by Storm, reduced the *Sabines* and the *Veientes* to their Duty; and forced the *Volſci* to ſue to him for Peace; he left two Children behind him, making *Lucumon* their Guardian, whoſe Original is thus related by ſome Hiſtorians.

Demaratus, a Merchant of *Corinth*, ſettling at *Tarquinij*, a City of *Hetruria*, married a Woman of Quality, by whom he had two Sons, one named *Aruns*, the other *Lucumon*. *Aruns* dying at the age of 22 Years, and leaving his Wife with Child, *Demaratus*, who ſurvived his Son but a few Days, and who knew nothing of his eldeſt Son's Widow being with Child, gave all his Eſtate to *Lucumon*, who had married *Tanaquil*, a Woman of a great Family. He being Rich, and wanting neither Valour nor Wit, made no doubt of raiſing himſelf to publick Offices by theſe advantages;

* *A. M.* 3333.

tages; but meeting with ſome obſtacles there, he reſolved to remove to *Rome* with his Wife *Tanaquil*, and ſee whether merit was not better regarded there than at *Tarquinij*. He changed his name to that of *Lucius Tarquinius*, and *Ancus Martius* finding him to be handſome, and a Man of Parts and Reſolution, employed him in all his Wars againſt the *Volſci* and the *Latins*; made him Camp-Maſter General of all the *Roman* Cavalry, and committed to him the Guardianſhip of his two Sons. After his Death, *Lucius Tarquinius*, without any regard to his two Pupils, ſent to deſire the Senators and the People to aſſemble; openly demanded the Crown, and managed things ſo well by his Eloquence and his Promiſes, that he had no difficulty to obtain it. He had ſome pretenſions to a Crown by Birth, for *Demaratus*, according to ſome Authors, was of the Race of the *Bacchiadæ*, who had been Kings of *Corinth*. He defeated the *Sabines* and the *Latins*, who made their utmoſt efforts to recover their Liberty; he ſubdued the *Etrurians*, who ſent him the Crown, the Sceptre and the Throne of their Kings. As *Ancus Martius* had built the City of *Oſtia*, inveſted the Rampart of *Rome* with good Walls, and laid a wooden Bridge over the *Tiber*, that the City might hold communication with the Fortreſs of *Janiculum*, which was divided from it by that River; ſo *Tarquin* thought he ought not to come behind him in any thing that might contribute to the Pleaſure of his Subjects, by making the Militia more conſiderable, and the City it ſelf more magnificent. To this purpoſe he raiſed a noble Edifice, which was named the *Cirque*, for the Combats of Gladiators and Beaſts; and doubled the ancient Troops of Horſe, on condition that they ſhould ſerve under the ſame Captains, who had already commanded them in the late Wars of the *Sabines*, the *Etrurians* and the *Latins*. He encreaſed the number of Senators, and of Knights; ordered, that the former ſhould have Ivory Seats to ſit in; that the latter ſhould wear Gold Rings; that the Sons of Noblemen ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by their long Gowns edged with Purple, and that bundles of

Rods

Rods ſhould be bound about the Magiſtrates *Axes*. To gain the Hearts of the Soldiery, he ordered, that thoſe who vanquiſhed the Enemies of the People of *Rome*, ſhould triumph for it in a golden Chariot drawn by four Horſes; and he triumphed himſelf in this manner for ſubduing the twelve Nations of *Etruria*. But altho' he had gained the veneration of all the Soldiers, of the whole Senate, and generally of all the People; he was yet aſſaſſinated at the age of 80 Years by ſome Perſons in Masks, being corrupted by the two Sons of *Marcius*, who could not endure to ſee him any longer in the Throne.

Servius Tullius, who ſucceeded him, in the Year 3495, and the 166 after the building of *Rome*, was the Son of a Prince of *Corniculum*, ſlain in that City of *Latium*, when it was taken by *Tarquin*. *Tanaquil*, named then *Caja Cæcilia*, having a reſpect for his Widow, named *Ocriſia*, a very beautiful Woman, and a Priſoner of the *Romans*, was ſo far from ſuffering them to make a Slave of a Lady of Quality, that ſhe aſſigned her an Apartment in the Palace, where ſhe was brought to bed of *Servius Tullius*, whom the Queen herſelf Educated with a Care anſwerable to his Birth. It was alſo by her perſwaſion that *Lucius Tarquinius* gave him his eldeſt Daughter in Marriage, after he had made him, according to ſome Authors, his firſt Miniſter of State. It is true at leaſt, that *Tanaqnil* ſeeing the King her Husband dead, made the People believe, that he was only fallen ill of a Wound which he had received; that his Wound was not mortal; that he would appear in publick the firſt Opportunity; and that by his Order *Tullius* was in the mean time to ſupply his place. Altho' a Regency diſpleaſed both the People and the Senators, he had no ſooner promiſed in a Speech, to ſecure the State againſt factious Perſons and Rebells; to provide for the Wants of the Poor; and to diſcharge, with his own Money, the Debts

* *A. M.* 3495. *V. C.* 166.

Debts of thoſe who were not ſolvent, but he was Elected King.

To ſecure the Country from Inrodes of Foreigners, and from Revolts, he built a Fortreſs in every Town that belonged to his Realm. To make alſo a ſtricter Union of the *Latins*, *Hetrurians* and the other conquered People, he ſignified to them by his Deputies, that it was for their Intereſt and their Eaſe, that there ſhould be in *Rome* a Temple, where all the Differences of the Provinces and Cities might be determined; and as they engaged to contribute to this Building, a Temple was raiſed to *Diana* on the *Aventine* Hill, which is now that of *Santa Sabina*. However, the *Veientes*, *Tarquinians* and *Tuſcans* revolted, notwithſtanding all the care he had taken to retain them in obedience. But they were almoſt always beaten, and even in three Battels they loſt above Forty thouſand Men, which forced them, after a War of twenty Years, to implore the Clemency of the Conqueror, who was not difficult in pardoning them. He divided the *Romans* into Claſſes or Companies; diſtributed thoſe into quarters, and made an Eſtimate of what they were worth, in order to Tax them according to their Eſtates, for the better mainteinance of the Troops. As if this were not enough, he ordered that their Quality, their Trade, and the value of their Eſtates ſhould be engraven on Tables; and he had no more trouble to govern a Nation, which was every Day increaſing with new Families, than if he had ruled a private Family. It was by his Order that the *Quirinal* and *Viminal* Hills were encloſed within the City Walls; and there had been nothing wanting to his own and the *Romans* Happineſs, if the Perſons who ought to have been the moſt ſenſible of it, had not gloried in renouncing all the Duties of Nature. *Tarquin* had married *Tullia*, the eldeſt Daughter of *Servius Tullius*, and Poiſoned this beautiful and vertuous Princeſs, becauſe ſhe had not Complaiſance enough to ſuffer his Vices, and to approve an Ambition which muſt coſt her King his Life. He afterwards married the younger Siſter of the ſame name, the Widow of his Brother *Aruns*, whom

whom ſhe had alſo poiſoned, becauſe he was not ambitious and daring enough to uſurp her Father's Crown. The horrid Crime which they deſigned, was the firſt tie of their Marriage, and Parricide followed their Inceſt. *Tarquin* having aſſembled the Senate, placed himſelf in the King's Seat, ſaid in plain Words, that he would Reign, and called his Father-in-law *Tullius* an Uſurper. Upon this rumour he came out, and entred the Senate to know the cauſe of this Aſſembly. The other as ſoon as he ſaw him, roſe up, laid hold on him, threw him head-long down the Stairs, and ſent ſome Soldiers after him, who aſſaſſinated him, *A. M.* 3438, *U. C.* 219. *Tullia*, as *Florus* ſaith, having an impatient deſire to ſee her Husband who had made himſelf King, coming as it happened thro' the ſame Street where her Father *Tullius* lay covered with Wounds, made her Chariot be driven over his bloody Body, altho' the Horſes at firſt ſtarted at it. This Action according to ſome other Hiſtorians, happened not till after ſhe had ſeen King *Tarquin* her Husband; but this dreadful haſte doth much better deſcribe the Character of this cruel and ambitious Woman.

Tarqnin, ſurnamed *Superbus*, or (*a*) *the Proud*, for his Inſolence and Haughtineſs, the Grandſon of *Tarquin* the Firſt, leaving to his Gods the vengeance of his Crime, firſt ſecured himſelf againſt that of Men, by getting into his Hands all the fortified places in the City. And that the People might not think he was a Man of no Religion, he thought fit to lay the Foundations of a wonderful Temple, to be conſecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, after he had beaten the *Sabines*, plundered the *Volſci*, and taken *Gabij* by Stratagem, a little City of *Latium*, 12 Miles diſtant from *Rome*. But his reign was too violent to be happy. As he infringed the Authority of the Senate, and put to Death moſt of thoſe whom he ſuſpected; as he choſe Guards to render himſelf

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* Livy *ſaith he got the Name of* the Proud, *by denying burial to his Father-in-law* Tullius.

ſelf formidable to thoſe whom he feared; and made Alliances, Peace and War, by the advice of his Favourites; he drew upon himſelf the general hatred by his Tyranny and his Pride. The People, the Knights, the Senators and Foreigners were no longer able to endure his Government, when *Sextus Tarquinius* his Son, raviſhed *Lucretia*. A. M. 3463. whoſe Story every body knows,

I can't forbear taking notice here, that many have believed that this *Lucretia* was not ſo Chaſt as *Titus Livius* would make her; and St. *Auſtin* (a) ſeems not to have been of *Livy*'s Opinion, when he ſaith, *Why is ſhe praiſed if ſhe was an Adultereſs? And why did ſhe kill her ſelf if ſhe was Chaſt?* However, I know very well, that others have ſaid, *Tarquin* needed not to have uſed force to enjoy her; that if he had been a little more ſecret he had longer enjoyed her; that that Lady who diſtruſted the diſcretion of her Gallant, and the revenge of her Husband, repenting her Freedom, avoided by her Death her puniſhment and her Infamy. I have many conſiderable Paſſages to this purpoſe, tho' it may be they ſerve only to ſhew their Authors falſehood and injuſtice to this Lady. Howſoever that be, the death of *Lucretia* was a pretence, or a reaſon to expell all the *Tarquins* out of *Rome*; and *Lucius Junius Brutus*, aſſiſted by the Father and Husband of this *Roman* Lady, and by ſome others, who had, it may be, ſome deſire of Innovations, made an Inſurrection of the whole Senate, Nobility and People, who afterwards committed to Conſuls that Authority which the Kings had.

CHAP.

(a) *Vid.* Auguſt. *de Civitate Dei. l.* 1. *c.* 19.

CHAP. II.

The remarkable Occurrences under the Conſuls.

THE Authority which the Kings had, was conferred on thoſe who had aſſiſted to expel them, *i. e.* on *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and *Collatinus*; and the former, who was the Son of the Siſter of the laſt *Tarquin*, according to *Livy*, or of the Daughter of the firſt, according to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, ſo managed his Intrigues, that his Collegue *Tarquinius Collatinus*, tho' of the Royal Family, was obliged to lay down his Conſulſhip, and to leave the City of *Rome*. *Valerius*, ſurnamed *Publicola* or *Poplicola*, for the love which he had for the publick Good and the People, was in the Aſſemblies ſubſtituted in his Place; and *Brutus* to out-do the Paſſion which *Publicola* expreſt for his Country, cauſed his own Sons to be beheaded, for ſecretly endeavouring the reſtoration of the *Tarquins*. Notwithſtanding, *Porſena* King of *Hetruria*, beſieged *Rome*, in order to reſtore the Exiled King, who fled to him for protection; he took the Fortreſs of *Janiculum*, one of the ſeven Hills of *Rome*, at this Day *Montorio*; he preſſed the City by Arms and Famine; and as *Livy* names him *Lars Porſena*, the Reader may take notice, that *Lars* in the ancient Language of the *Tuſcans* or *Hetrurians*, ſignifieth *Chief* or *Prince*.

Rome was reduced to extremity when 300 *Romans* of noble Families, all engaged to go and kill *Porſena*, even in his Camp. *Cajus Mutius Cordus*, who found means to get into it, and who miſtook the Secretary for the King, having miſſed this important Blow, and after that ſeeing himſelf apprehended, burnt his Right-arm in a Fire which was prepared for a Sacrifice, in the preſence of *Porſena*, who threatned him with horrible Torments, unleſs he diſcovered the Accomplices of his Conſpiracy. He was afterwards

fur-

ſurnamed *Scævola*, or *Left-handed*; however there have been ſome who have aſſerted, that *Porſena* himſelf commanded they ſhould burn his Right hand, wherewith he would have murthered him; that he ſent him back in this Condition, to ſtrike terrour into the reſt of the Conſpirators; and that *Livy* and ſome other Hiſtories, to extoll the *Roman* Valour, have repreſented that as an act of the bravery of *Mucius*, which was the Revenge of the King of *Hetruria*. Indeed when *Mucius Cordus* went into *Porſena's* Camp, he went by the conſent of the whole Senate, and aimed at nothing but the ſafety of the Common-wealth. His Superiours authorized that which poſſibly was not permitted by the Laws of Nations; and ſeeing he was engaged with ſo many Men to ſave the City, by the death of the King, and that the Lot was at laſt fallen on him, it may be ſaid, that he was obliged both by his Oath and Honour, to ſignalize himſelf on this occaſion. But he doth not ſo well deſerve to be excuſed for undertaking to kill the common Enemy of the State, and not taking his Meaſures exactly, that he might know him well; and in my Opinion it mends the matter but little, to ſuppoſe that the Secretary whom he ſtabb'd to Death had much the ſame Habit with *Porſena*, ſince they might have been diſtinguiſhed by their Statures, their Countenances, and that Air of reſpect which Kings imprint on their Domeſticks. What terrour could he ſtrike into *Porſena*, when he thruſt his Right-hand into the Flames? What Example could he give to the Conſpirators? And what Service could he do to the Common-wealth? All that can be ſaid is, that he ſhewed Boldneſs and Zeal in his Undertaking, Imprudence in his Conduct, and Folly in his Puniſhment.

Whatſoever we believe of that, *Porſena* quitted the Siege, and as the War of the *Tarquins* continued, *Aruns* the Son of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus*, engaging Hand to Hand in a Battle, both fell dead on the Spot of their Wounds. The *Latins*, who afterwards eſpouſed the King's Cauſe, were defeated, *A. M.* 3477 by the Dictator *Poſthumius*, and by *Coſſus* the General of the

Roman Horſe. The *Veientes*, who in one Battle ſlew above 300 Gentlemen, all as they ſay, of the Family of the *Fabij*, and who could not ſuffer the *Romans* to be quiet, were as well as the *Faliſci* and the *Fidenates* conquered by them; and their Progreſs had been more conſiderable, if the *Gauls*, who took up their Habitation betwixt the *Alpes* and the River *Po*, had not oppoſed their victorious Arms. Theſe defeated the Conſul *Fabius*; entred *Rome*; maſſacred the Senators; burnt the City, and were beaten by *Camillus*, by *Manlius*, near the River *Anio* or *Teverona*, and by *Dolabella* near the Lake of *Viterbo*. After the defeat of theſe People, the *Romans* ſubdued the *Latins*, the *Samnites* and the *Umbrians*; loſt a Battle againſt *Pyrrhus*, whom the *Tarentins* had called to their aſſiſtance, but gained two others from him. To revenge themſelves of their Enemies the *Picentines*, who had aſſiſted the *Tarentines*, they attacked and conquered them, by the means of *Sempronius*; they had afterwards the ſame advantage over the Citizens of *Tarentum*, by the conduct of *Marcus Attilius*, and ſent *Fabius Gurges* againſt the Slaves in the behalf of the *Volſci* their Allies. This People had heretofore given their Slaves Liberty, of which they made no other uſe but to rebel againſt their Maſters, and to poſſeſs themſelves of the Government of the Commonwealth.

The *Romans*, who were 500 Years in ſubduing all *Italy*, in 200 Years more conquered *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa*, and began with *Sicily*. *Hiero* was at that time King of *Syracuſe*, and the City of *Meſſina* which had entred into their Alliance, ſent Ambaſſadors to them, to complain of the Tyranny and Inſolence of the *Carthaginians*. *Appius Claudius* attack'd *Hiero* and defeated him, even before he had given him time to know where he was. The Conſul *Cajus Duillius* beat the *Carthaginians* at Sea. The Dictator *Attilius Galatinus*, who had driven out of *Drepanum*, *Panormus* and ſome other Cities, the Gariſons that had been placed there, and who found himſelf hem'd in by his Enemies in a narrow place, got off by the Prudence and Cou-

Courage of *Calpurnius Flamma* a Military Tribune, named *Quintus Cæcilius* by ſome Authors, and *Laberius* by others. To this Conqueſt they added thoſe of *Corcyra* or *Corfu*, and of *Sardinia*; beat the *Carthaginians* by Sea; and *Attilius Regulus* led an Army into *Africk*, where he ruined above 300 Fortreſſes, and laid Siege to *Carthage*, after having ſent to *Rome* a Fleet laden with Spoils and Priſoners. But his attempt upon this City proved unſucceſsful, becauſe *Xantippus*, whom the *Lacedemonians* had ſent to their Aſſiſtance, defeated the *Romans*, and alſo made their General Priſoner. He was ſome time after releaſed, and importuned to go to *Rome*, there to propoſe Conditions of Peace, or at leaſt the exchange of Priſoners; but they exacted an Oath of him, that he ſhould return again, if he could not obtain this laſt Article. In the Audience which he had of the Senate, he counſelled neither one nor the other: and having given them what Advice he thought fit, he returned to *Carthage*, where the Enemy put him to Death. The *Africans* lifted up with their Victory, carried the War into *Sicily*, where *Cæcilius Metellus* beat their Army, and took from them 120 Elephants, or according to *Pliny* 132, which ſerved for a great Ornament to his Triumph. The Conſuls *Marcus Fabius Buteo* and *Lutatius* or *Luctatius Catulus*, almoſt utterly ruined their Fleets. In this deſpair they made Peace with the *Romans*, and this firſt Punick War, which had laſted twenty three Years, was ended about ſix Years after the birth of *Hannibal*.

Whilſt theſe Conquerors quietly enjoyed the Fruits of their Glory, the *Ligurian Gauls*, who dwelt at the Foot of the Alps, betwixt the Rivers *Varus* and *Magra*, the *Inſubres* who inhabited the *Milaneſe*, and the *Illyrians* or *Sclavonians*, renewed their ancient hatred, and diſturbed them in the Poſſeſſion of their Conqueſts. The *Ligurians* were defeated by *Poſthumius*, the *Inſubres* by *Æmilius*, by *Flaminius*, and by *Marcellus*, who himſelf ſlew King *Virdumar* or *Viridomarus*, who had challenged him to a ſingle Combat, hoping to repair the Honour of *Bridomarus* and *Arioviſtus*. The *Sclavoni-*

vonians, to whom the *Romans* had ſent two Ambaſſadors, *Cajus* and *Lucius Coruncanius*, one of which was killed by the command of *Teuta* their Queen, were conquered by *Cneius Fabius Centumalus*; and as they had killed theſe Envoys with Axes, the ſame Inſtruments were made uſe of to revenge them, and to cut off the Heads of their Princes. But Fortune, whom they had never known but by her Favours, abandoned them for a time, or took another ſide, only to betray it in the End.

Hamilcar, ſurnamed *Barcha*, who in the firſt Punick War had attempted to break all their Meaſures in *Sicily*, was ſent into *Spain*, where he fell in Battle, and *Haſdrubal* his Son had afterwards the command of the whole Army. He was aſſaſſinated eight Years after, and *Hannibal* being undaunted and indefatigable, and his Prudence being equal to his Courage in his Enterprizes, the Army reſolved to obey him. He was then but (*a*) twenty ſix Years old, and his Father *Hamilcar*, who had carried him into *Spain*, had made him Swear, even on the (*b*) Altar, at a Sacrifice, that when Age permitted, he ſhould declare himſelf the mortal Enemy of the People of *Rome*. The ſucceſs ſhewed he had a good Memory, and that the *Africans* of his Temper, when they were to revenge, never failed of their Word. To give ſenſible Proofs of it, he made War on the *Vaccæi*, who lived about *Valencia*, on the *Carpeteni*, who had two conſiderable Cities, *Toletum* and *Complutum*, afterwards *Alcala de Henares*, and ſubdued theſe People of the neither *Spain*, or *Tarraconenſius*, which had its name from its Metropolis which the *Scipio's* built. After he had impoſed Conditions on them,

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(*a*) Cornelius Nepos *ſaith, that he was not then twenty five Years old.* (*b*) *Adhæc* Cor. Nepolis *in* Hannibale, *ſimulque ad aram adduxit, apud quam Sacrificare inſtituerat, eamque cæteris remotis, tenentem jurare juſſit. Vid.* Keuken. Multa Turnebus Adverſar. *l.* 16. *c.* 10. *l.* 19. *c.* 19. *l.* 25. *c.* 2. & 5.

them, he beſieged *Saguntum*, which might be the ſame with *Morvedre*; and the *Romans*, with whom this City was in Alliance, ſent *Publius Valerius Flaccus*, and *Quintus Bœbius Tamphilus* to him, to remonſtrate that he broke the Peace which he ought to have obſerved inviolably. Theſe Ambaſſadors, whom *Hannibal* received coldly enough, as *Polybius* ſaith, and who did not ſo much as ſpeak to him, according to *Livy*, purſued the order given them by the Senate, and continued their journey to *Carthage*, where all their Complaints were ineffectual. In the mean time *Hannibal*, who attacked *Saguntum* in three places, became Maſter of it in the ſixth Month of the Siege, if we may rely on the Author of Famous Men; the nineth according to *Florus*, or the eighth as *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Polybius*, *Oroſius* and *Eutropius* affirm, It is alſo reported, that he opened a paſſage over the Alpes by Fire and (*a*) Vinegar, which had the ſame effect as Powder hath now, which is ridiculous enough; as if there had been then no way over thoſe Mountains, and the *Gauls* had not marched great Armies over them before *Hannibal*.

He came into *Italy* with a 100000 Foot and 20000 Horſe according to ſome; with 6000 Horſe and 20000 Foot, according to others; or with 10000 Horſe, and 80000 Foot. *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, and *Tiberius Sempronius Longus*, who oppoſed his Army, were beaten by him; and as he was marching to *Rome*, and found himſelf in the midſt of a great Moraſs, he loſt an Eye by a Rhume, cauſed by the ill Air, moiſture, cold and watchings. This inconvenience did not hinder him from continuing his March, and the Conſul *Cneius Flaminius*, who had the command of *Sempronius*'s Army given him, advancing to ſtop him, having not taken his Advantages, loſt the Battle. He was ſlain in it with 20000 or 25000 Men near *Lacus Thraſimenus*, now the Lake

(*a*) *In the firſt Book of the Second Part of the Hiſtory of* Provence, *by* De Bouche, *may be ſeen* Hannibal's *Paſſage thro'* Province *and over the Alpes.*

of *Perouſe*, beccuſe it is in the Territory of *Perouſe*, 12 Miles diſtant from the City of that name; the Lake of *Praſignano* and *Caſtiglione*, becauſe theſe two places ſtand on its Banks. In this Battel *Hannibal* made 15000 Priſoners according to *Plutarch*, and all the reſt who fled ſaved themſelves on the ſide of the Lake, and in the Mountains. This ſucceſs was followed by another, for he beat *Marcus Minucius* the General of the *Roman* Cavalry; defeated *(a) Terentius Varro* the Year following, near *Cannæ*, a Village of *Apulia*, and *Paulus Æmilius* and *Servilius*, who had been Conſul the Year before, were ſlain in this Battel, with 50000 Men, according to *Plutarch*, or above 40000 according to *Florus* and *Livy*. *Maharbal* the Son of *Imilco*, who commanded *Hannibal*'s Cavalry, adviſed him to march directly to *Rome*, and promiſed him, that within five Days he ſhould Sup in the Capitol. But when *Hannibal* anſwered him, *That he had need of Time to conſider of it*; the other reply'd, *That the Gods never beſtowed all their Gifts on one Man; that he knew indeed very well how to conquer, but not how to make uſe of his Victories.* In ſhort, altho' the Cities of *Samnium*, *Calacia* and *Capua*, had for ſome time eſpouſed his Intereſt, and *Campania* had followed the Example of *Apulia*; tho' the City of *(b) Caſilinum* had at laſt opened its Gates to him; yet *Sempronius Gracchus* obliged him to raiſe the Seige of *Cumæ*, and *Marcellus* cut off 6000 *Carthaginians* near *Nola*. It is true, he afterwards defeated the Army of *Centenius* in *Lucania*, that of the Pretor *Fabius* in *Apulia*, and marched his own to *Rome*, which he hoped to take by Force; but his Diligence was fruitleſs, and the *Romans* at the ſame time retook *Capua*.

To

(*a*) *De Terentio Varrone & Paulo Æmylio. Val. Max. l.* 3. *De Flaminio, idem l.* 1. *c.* 7. (*b*) Caſilinum *ſtood where the River of the ſame, now* Calvi *or* Cales, *joins the River* Vulturnus. Leandro Alberti *calls it* Caſtelluzzo *or* Caſtelluccio.

To revenge ſo great an Affront, he led his Army by great Marches into *Apulia*, where he ſurprized and defeated the Proconſul *Fulvius Flaccus*; and *Marcellus*, who was then at *Samnium*, willing to repair on the other ſide the Proconſuls diſgrace, marched to find out *Hannibal* in *Lucania*, where they fought with ſuch fury, that nothing but Night could ſeparate them. *Marcellus*, who hoped himſelf, as well as others did of him, that he ſhould be another *Hannibal* for Prudence and Valour, underſtanding that his Enemy was retired without any noiſe, followed him as far as *Canuſium*, and as they lay encamped very near one another, they fought three great Battles. In the firſt Fortune ſeemed to be indifferent to both ſides, and inclined neither one way nor other. *Hannibal* had entirely the advantage in the ſecond; and *Marcellus* having beaten him in the third, forced him to fly. But the Year following, *Marcellus* and *Criſpinus* coming out of their Camp with ſome Squadrons of Horſe to view a covert Eminence of a Wood, fell exactly into the Ambuſh the Enemy had laid for them; and notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance they were able to makes to diſengage themſelves, *Marcellus* was killed on the ſpot; *Criſpinus* eſcaped full of Wounds, of which he died ſome time after.

Marcus Livius and *Claudius Nero*, whom they made Conſuls, entred upon their Offices; and never was there a more fortunate Choice. *Claudius Nero* vanquiſhed *Hannibal* in *Lucania*, and in *Apulia*, near (*a*) *Venuſia*, which obliged the *Carthaginians* to retreat to *Metapontum* (*b*), a Maritime Town in the Gulph of *Tarentum*. And as he had intercepted ſome Letters, whereby he underſtood, that *Haſdrubal*, the Brother

(*a*) Venuſia *was in* Apulia Pucetia. *on the Frontier of* Lucania. *It is now* Venoſa, *in the Kingdom of* Naples, *at the Foot of the* Apennine. (*b*) Metapontum, *more anciently* Siris, *a maritime City in the Gulph of* Tarentum, *at the Mouth of, now* Baſienta. *This City is now called* Torre di Mare.

of *Hannibal*, who was bringing a ſtrong Reinforcement to the latter, was already near; he concluded it was the ſafeſt way for him, to prevent the Conjunction of theſe two Armies. Having detached a part of his own on this great Deſign, he left his Camp to his Lieutenant, and arrived the ſixth Day at *Sena*, which is *Senigaglia*, where with his Troops, and thoſe of *Marcus Livius*, he ſet upon *Haſdrubal* with ſuch Fury, that he gained the Victory which he promiſed himſelf. In this Fight, which coſt him but 8000 Men, there were ſlain 50000 of the Enemy, and 5 or 6000 taken Priſoners; and 3000 *Roman* Citizens by this extraordinary good Fortune were releaſed. *Claudius Nero* immediately marched back to the Camp which he had left near *Venuſia*; cauſed the Head of *Haſdrubal*, who was ſlain in the Battel, to be thrown into his Brother *Hannibal*'s Camp; or according to others, he only expoſed it to view to thoſe who might know it, and releaſed ſome Priſoners which he had made, to go and carry the news of this defeat to the *Carthiginians*. *Hannibal* was ſtrangely ſurprized at it; and ſeeing there was ſo ſmall a diſtance betwixt the two Camps, we may very well wonder, that ſo great a Man ſhould ſooner hear of his Brother's Death, and the entire loſs of his Army, than of the departure and quick return of the *Roman* Conſul. How ſenſible ſo ever he was of this blow, he was not ſlack to make new Efforts; but whatſoever he could do, he then ſaw that Fortune, which had led him into *Italy*, was no longer of his ſide; and the *Carthaginians* recalled him to retrive their laſt Diſgrace, and to oppoſe *Scipio*, who by the Victories he had gained, and the uſe which he made of his Advantages, might in the end conquer *Africa*.

It it not eaſie to conceive how the *Romans*, who had for 16 Years together, maintained the ſecond Punick War, much more bloody than the firſt, were able to ſend great Armies to ſo many places at the ſame time, either to aſſiſt their Allies, or to recover what their Enemies had taken from them. It is yet more ſurprizing, that they had thoughts of Conqueſt,

when

when their Forces ſeemed not ſufficient for their Defence; notwithſtanding which, it is certain, that they regained what had been taken from them in *Sardinia* or *Sicily*, and retook all the Cities which had revolted from them in *Italy*. *Publius Cornelius Scipio* was then but 24 Years old, when he was choſen General for the War in *Spain*, there to revenge his Father's and Uncle's Death, who had been ſlain in two Battels. He firſt took *Carthagena* by force, where the greateſt part of the Ammunitions and Wealth of the *Carthaginians* were laid up; and it was there that he ſhewed wonderful Continence, when a very beautiful Lady was brought to him; but as ſhe had been eſpouſed to *Lucius*, or *Allucius*, a Prince of the *Celtiberi*, ſo he commanded ſhe ſhould be reſtored to this young Prince; who was ſo affected with this vertuous Action, that after he had extolled it amongſt his Subjects, he drew all the Horſe that he was able out of his Dominions to ſerve him, and to teſtifie his gratitude to him. After he had given Laws to *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, two Brothers and King's, whom Nature and their common Intereſt united, he forced *Haſdrubal*'s Camp, and finding the Nephew of *Maſiniſſa* King of *Numidia*, among the Priſoners which he took, he ſent him back, without taking any thing for his Ranſom. He fought ſome Battles afterwards with ſucceſs; and *Marcus Syllanus* his Lieutenant, gained one againſt *Hanno*, whom the *Carthaginians* had ſent to ſupply the place of *Haſdrubal*, that was to go into *Italy* with an Army to reinforce that of his Brother *Hannibal*. *Scipio*, who made uſe of his Advantages, and employed all his Courage and Prudence to draw the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, obliged them to retire into the Iſle of *Gades*, which is ſeparated from the Continent of *Andaluſia* only by a Channel which more reſembles a River than an Arm of the Sea. *Maſiniſſa*, the Son of *Gala*, King of the Eaſtetn *Numidia* (*a*), which is near-

eſt

(*a*) *The Province of* Conſtantina *or* Nova Numidia, *of the Ancients, is the moſt Weſtern part of the true* Africk, *and borders on* Mauritania *Weſtward.*

eſt to *Carthage*, ſurrendred himſelf; and *Scyphax* King of the Weſtern *Numidia* followed his Example. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who had raiſed 20000 Men in hopes to recover their Liberty, were defeated; and when *Scipio* had ſubdued *Spain* and chaſed the *Carthaginians* out of it, he reſolved to go to *Rome*, where the Year following, he was choſen Conſul, and had the Government of *Sicily* conferred on him.

He was alſo permitted to ſail into *Africa*, if he found it for the good of the State; and he went thither when he was informed, that the Government of *Carthage* was grown inſupportable; that *Maſiniſſa* expected him there; and that *Scyphax*, who had married *Sophonisba*, the Daughter of *Haſdrubal*, had for this reaſon renounced the Alliance of the People of *Rome*. The Camp of *Scyphax* was burnt in the Night by *Maſiniſſa* and *Lælius*; *Haſdrubal*'s by *Scipio*; and thoſe *Africans* who made their Eſcape, left there behind them 40000 Men dead. Having aſſembled a great Army after their defeat, they reſolved on a Battle, in which the greateſt part of this Army was cut in pieces. As they got away in the tumult, *Scipio* ordered *Maſiniſſa* and *Lælius* to follow *Scyphax*, who found means to raiſe Forces in his own Kingdom, and having met thoſe who ſought for him, reſolved to hazard a Battle. But he loſt it; and *Maſiniſſa*, whom he had diſpoſſeſſed of his Kingdom, and whoſe Priſoner he was now, beſieged (a) *Cirtha*, where *Sophonisba* was. The City made no great reſiſtance, and himſelf was not able to reſiſt *Sophoniſba*, with whom he was ſo charmed as to marry her, believing he ſhould hereby prevent her being carried in triumph to *Rome*. *Scipio* did not expreſs his Reſentment of it to him in publick; but when he had taken him in private, he ſhewed him his fault; and *Maſiniſſa* knowing the ſevere temper of the *Roman* Conſul, and being not able to keep the promiſe he had made her at *Cirtha*, ſent her Poiſon, which ſhe much rather choſe to take, than to out-live her Liberty.

(a) Cirta Julia *or* Jo. Cæſarea Conſtantina *or* Cucuntina.

berty. As for *Scyphax*, he was carried to *Rome* according to ſome; or according to others, died of grief at *Tiber*, now *Tivoli* (*a*).

In the mean time, the defeat and taking of *Scyphax* ſo alarmed the *Carthaginians*, that they recalled *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, whoſe Efforts there were grown fruitleſs; and he was no ſooner come into *Africk*, but having not been able to agree on Terms of Peace with *Scipio*, they came to a Battle, in which *Scipio* had entirely the advantage. The *Romans*, who loſt but 2000 Men in it, killed 20000 of their Enemies, took almoſt as many of them Priſoners, got 11 Elephants, and 120 Colours.

It was then the *Carthaginians* ſaw themſelves compelled to make Peace, and to ſubſcribe to what *Scipio* demanded. *That they ſhould return all the Deſertors and Slaves which had gone from him; all the Priſoners which they had made; all the Ships which they had taken; all the Elephants which they had tamed, and that they ſhould promiſe to tame no more; that they ſhould re-eſtabliſh* Maſiniſſa *in his Kingdom, and make an Alliance with him; That they ſhould furniſh the* Roman *Army with whatſoever was neceſſary for their Subſiſtence, till the arrival of the Ambaſſadours from* Rome; *That they ſhould in the ſpace of* 50 *Years pay to* Rome 10000 (*a*) *Talents of Silver; and that in order to diſcharge this Debt, they ſhould pay* 200 *Talents every Year; That for the performance of theſe Articles, they ſhould deliver* 100 *Hoſtages under* 30 *and above* 14 *Years old.* With ſome other Conditions which were not very advantageous to them, he would alſo have them deliver up *Hannibal* to them; but that they could not do; and indeed after his defeat he fled to the Court of *Antiochus*, ſurnamed the *Great*, King of *Syria*. Their Fleet alſo, which they look'd upon as their beſt Support, was taken from them; and

(*a*) *Vid. Pet. Victorii Variar. Lect. l.* 2. *c.* 1. (*b*) *Ad hæc Plinii l.* 33. *c.* 3. *ſicut* Carthagini *cum* Annibale *victæ Argenti pondo annua in* 50 *Annos: vid.* Freder Gronov. *p.* 791, & 792. *ad finem. Tome* 3. *Edit.* Hakianæ 1669.

and according to ſome Authors 500 Ships were burnt to deſtroy their Hopes. After this Peace *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who was henceforward ſurnamed *Africanus*, went directly to *Rome*, where he Triumphed; and was the ſecond time declared Conſul with *Titus Sempronius Longus*, the Son of the ſame *Sempronius* whom *Hannibal* routed near the River of *Trebia* (*a*).

After *Africk* was ſubdued, the *Romans* ſent *Publius Sulpicius Galba* againſt *Philip*, the Son of *Demetrius* II. King of *Macedon*, who had made an Alliance with *Hannibal*, when the Affairs of the latter ſucceeded in *Italy*; and this King was defeated in a Battle by the Conſul. *Titus Quintus Flaminius* did much more, for in another he killed 8000 of his Men; took five thouſand; forced him to beg Peace; to evacuate all the Gariſon Towns which he had in *Greece*; and for the greater ſecurity he demanded of him his Son *Demetrius*, whom he ſent to *Rome* as an Hoſtage. *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *The Great*, the Sixth King of *Syria* (whom the *Ætolians* and *Hannibal* had animated againſt the *Romans*) had made a League with *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and had an Army in *Greece*, whence he was driven by *Manius Acilius Glabrio*; and his Fleet was alſo beaten by *Lucius Æmilius Regillus*, altho' commanded by *Polixenides* and *Hannibal*. In the Battle which *Lucius Scipio*, who was alſo ſurnamed *Aſiaticus*, Brother to *Scipio Africanus*, fought with him afterwards, near the City of *Magneſia*, *Antiochus* loſt 50000 Foot and 4000 Horſe; and of the *Romans* there were kill'd but 24 Horſe and 300 Foot, with 15 of the Army of *Eumenes* the Son of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, a City of *Myſia*, in the leſſer *Aſia*. But that which was hardeſt upon this King was, that he could not obtain the Peace which he begg'd, but on theſe Conditions; *That he ſhould never more enterprize any thing in* Europe; *That he ſhould quit all his Dominions in* Aſia *that lay between Mount* Taurus *and the River* Tanais; *That he ſhould pay nine Millions of Gold for the charges of the War*; *and*

(*a*) Trebia *runs into the* Po *near* Placenza.

and That he ſhould deliver up Hannibal, *with ſome others, who had been the chief promoters of it.* All theſe Articles were complied with, except that of the delivering up *Hannibal*, which was not in his Power, he being fled for protection to *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*.

Marcus Fulvius, who had taken the City of *Larta*, or *Ambracia* in *Epirus*, and who was prevailed with to pardon the *Ætolians*, at the interceſſion of the *Rhodians* and the *Athenians*, conquered *Zacynthus* or *Zant*, and the reſt of the Iſles which lie betwixt the Mountains of *Epirus* and the Promontory of *Malea*. *Iſtria* which had aſſiſted the *Ætolians* was conquered by *Appius Claudius*. *Galatia*, ſuſpected to have had ſome Intelligence with the King of *Syria*, was reduced by *Cneius Manlius*; *Macedonia*, where reigned *Perſeus* the Son of *Philip*, by *Paulus Æmilius*; *Dalmatia* by *Lucius Anicius*; and *Scodra*, the Capital City of the Country, was razed to the Ground. *Corinth* had the ſame Fate which *Carthage* had; and the Inhabitants of *Numantia* being reduced to the laſt extremity burnt their City, their Wives and Children, with their Wealth, that their Enemies might not have the advantage of their Spoils.

Whilſt the Generals of their Armies triumphed at *Rome*, either for the ill ſucceſs of Rebels, or the defeat of Mutineers, there was new Work cut out for them, and for others, in *Numidia*. *Maſiniſſa*, who was always firm to the Alliance of the *Roman* People, had three Sons, *Micipſa*, *Guluſſa* and *Manaſtabal*; and the younger *Scipio* had divided their Fathers Dominions among them. *Micipſa*, who left his two Sons *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal* his Heirs, had alſo adopted *Jugurtha*, the natural Son of *Manaſtabal*; and this *Jugurtha*, who was equally treacherous and ambitious, preſently afterwards attacked *Hiempſal*, who was killed in a Battel. As *Adherbal*, whoſe Dominions he had uſurp'd, and whom he purſued, fled to *Rome*, he found a way to draw him thence and to diſpatch him. He was yet more daring, for he went thither to juſtifie himſelf, when they ſent him a Paſſeport, and at the ſame time gave order that they ſhould aſſaſſinate

Maſſiva

Maſſiva the Son of *Guluſſa*, who pretended, and that juſtly, to the Crown. Whatſoever puniſhmenr he deſerved, he corrupted the greateſt part of thoſe who were choſen to judge him, or to fight againſt him; and having at laſt made his eſcape from *Rome*, where he was no longer ſafe, he returned into *Numidia*, and without any great difficulty vanquiſhed the Troops of *Albinus*, whom he had before gained with Money. The Conſul *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus* was more zealous for the Honour of *Rome* than the other Conſuls had been; for he employed all his Prudence and Courage to deſtroy him; he defeated him in two conſiderable Battles; got the poſſeſſion of all his Cities, and chaſed him out of his Kingdom. *Caius Marius* being then made Conſul, followed *Jugurtha* into *Mauritania*, and thence into the Country of the *Getuli*; beat the Army with which his Son-in-Law *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*, afterwards named *Cæſariana*, aſſiſted him; and who having received ſome Favours from *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* or *Sulla*, the Treaſurer of *Marius*'s Army, ſecretly advertiſed him, that if he deſired it, he could eaſily deliver up *Jugurtha* into his Hands. The Treaſurer acquainted the Conſul with it, who gave him a Detachement; and *Bocchus*, who ſuſpected *Jugurtha*, punctually performed his Promiſe. King *Jugurtha* was carried to *Rome* with two of his Sons, who made a part of the Pomp of *Marius*'s Triumph: And never did the People of *Rome* pay dearer for a Shew, if we conſider the conſequences of it. Indeed *Sylla*, who by the taking of the *African* King, had put an end to this War, conceived ſuch an averſion to *Marius*, that his hatred from this time broke out againſt him, if the common Enemies of the Common-wealth had not forced him to conceal and ſuſpend it.

But before I come to the Civil Wars, of which *Sylla* and *Marius* were the Authors, I muſt finiſh in a few Words what remains of the Affairs of *Numidia*, that I may not fall into frequent Repetitions. After the taking of *Jugurtha*, who was cruelly put to Death in Priſon, they rewarded the Traitor *Bocchus* with the

Weſtern

Weſtern part of his Kingdom, which was afterwards called *new Mauritania*. The Eaſtern *Numidia* was called the *Old*, and *Tingitana*, from its Capital *Tingis*, now *Tanger*, where ſome time after reigned ſucceſſively, *Jampſa*, the Grandſon of *Maſiniſſa*; *Hiarbas* his Son, whom *Pompey* made Priſoner, for having taken Arms for *Marius*, and whoſe Kingdom *Hiempſal* obtained by the ſame *Pompey*'s Intereſt. *Juba* the Son of *Hiempſal* was defeated with *Scipio*, and *Afranius*, by *Julius Cæſar*; and his Son *Juba* was carried to *Rome* and impriſoned, where this young Prince, to alleviate his Captivity, applied himſelf ſo happily to Study, that he was ranked amongſt the beſt Hiſtorians. The Employment which he choſe turned to his advantage, and after he had dedicated to *Auguſtus* his Works, which contained the Antiquities, and the entire Hiſtory of *Lybia*, this Emperor married him to the Daughter of *Cleopatra* and *Mark Anthony*: and from this marriage came *Ptolemy*, who was murthered by the command of *Caligula*.

The ſecret hatred of *Marius* and *Sylla* daily encreaſed, when the *Saluvij*, or the *Salij*, whoſe capital City was *Aix* in *Provence*, were defeated by the Proconſul *Cajus Sextius*; from whoſe Name, and its Springs, this City was named *Aquæ Sextiæ*, when there was a Colony ſent thither. *Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus* had alſo the ſame advantage of the *Allobroges* who poſſeſſed the *Viennois*, a part of *Savoy* and *Dauphiné*, who had received and aſſiſted *Teutomalus* King of the *Salij*, and made inroads into the Territories of the People of *Autun*, who were in Alliance with the *Romans*. We may here, by the way, take notice, that this City was *Bibracte* in *Cæſars* time; that to Complement *Auguſtus*, they gave it his Name; and that *Autun*, with the change of one Letter is but a contraction of *Auguſtodun*, or *Auguſtodunum*. *Quintus Fabius* gave the *Arverni* the ſame treatment, for he killed 120000 of them; led their King *Bituitus* Captive, and ordered his Son *Congiatus* to be carried to *Rome*. The *Cimbri*, a People of the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſe*, now *Jutland*; the *Teutones*, who came from the Iſle of *Denmark*; the *Tigurini*, or the People of *Zurich*, who

who had been driven out of *Gaul* and *Spain*, who would have eſtabliſhed themſelves in *Italy*, and opened a free Paſſage thither by the right of Arms, were all defeated by *Marius*, and the *Thracians* made ſome advantage of their revolt. Above 50000 *Teutones* were ſlain in the firſt Battel in *Provence*; and in another, which was fought the Year following, there were ſlain 120000 *Cimbri*, and 60000 made Priſoners, about which *Plutarch* may be conſulted.

Caius Marius might have enjoyed his Glory in Peace if he had not been jealous of *Sylla*; who had acquired a great Reputation in the Armies, had a good Intereſt in the Senate-houſe; and was beloved of the People. But *Marius* could not bear *Bocchus*'s ſending of Statues with Trophies to the Capitol; amongſt which there was one of *Jugurtha*, whom this King betray'd to *Sylla*, who made uſe of this Teſtimony to prove, that it was he who put an end to the *African* War. *Marius* endeavoured by all means to have theſe Statues removed out of the Capitol; and *Sylla*, on the other hand, did what he could to prevent it. Both had their Friends to ſupport and ſerve them; and their private Quarrel being grown to a Civil War, it proved ſo cruel (*a*) and ſo fatal to the Common-wealth, that it coſt it above 100000 Men. In this diſorder, which divided all the Families of *Rome*, *Mithridates*, who had diſpoſſeſſed *Ariobarzanes* of *Cappadocia*, and *Nicomedes* of *Bithynia*, who had made himſelf Maſter of the *Cyclades*, had taken the City of *Athens*, and to be ſhort, had made head againſt the *Romans* for 26 Years, was not able any long time to reſiſt *Sylla*, who killed him above 100000 Men in two Battels. He was treated no better by *Lucullus*, nor by *Pompey*; and when he ſaw his Affairs deſperate, ſome ſay he poiſoned himſelf. The Iſle of *Crete*, which was charged with holding Intelligence with *Mithridates*; that of *Cyprus* and the *Bale-*

(*q*) L. Syllam *appellari Tyrannum quid prohibet, cui occidendi finem fecit inopia hoſtium?* Seneca *de Clementia*, *l.* 1. *c.* 12.

Baleares (*b*) were all taken. *Sertorius*, who had been proſcribed by *Sylla*, deſired nothing but to revenge himſelf of his Enemies, and was more to be dreaded than *Sylla* himſelf, becauſe he had already drawn *Portugal* and part of *Spain* into his Party, but was betrayed, and aſſaſſinated by his Servants. *Catilines* Conſpiracy having been at laſt diſcovered by *Cicero*, was the following Year diſappointed by *Caius Antonius*, who had been *Cicero*'s Collegue in the Conſulſhip, and who deſtroyed *Catiline*'s Army.

Theſe are very near all the important Occurrences under the Kings of *Rome*, and under her Conſuls, to whom ſucceeded the Emperors. But as I have taken notice neither of the Times nor the Circumſtances which concern theſe Events, nor of ſome other Particulars which depend on them, and which are neceſſary to the underſtanding of this Hiſtory, I muſt compleat what may contribute thereto.

CHAP. III.

Chronological Remarks on the Roman *Hiſtory.*

Anno Mundi		Years before the birth of Jeſus Chriſt.
3201	ROmulus *and* Remus *were born the ſecond Year of the ſecond* Olympiad.	770
3219	*It is from this Year that* Varro *reckons the Years,* Ab Urbe Conditâ, *i. e. from the building of* Rome, *wherein he hath been followed by* Dio, Pliny, Cenſorinus, *and ſome others.*	752
	D	3220

(*a*) *Iſlands of the* Mediterranean *Sea, near the* Tarraconenſian *Coaſt. They are now called* Majorca *and* Minorca.

3220 Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, Solinus, *the* Tables of the Capitol, *make this Year the* Epocha *of the the building of the City.* 751

Romulus *began his Reign.*

3223 *On the* 18*th of* Auguſt *the* Sabine *Women were carried away by the* Romans; *and it is from the end of the following Year* Ptolemy *begins to reckon the* Epocha of Nabonaſſar or Salmanazar. 748

3256 *The Death of* Romulus, *aged* 55 *Years, the* 7*th of* July 1600 *Years after the Flood.* 714

3256 *The Reign of* Numa, ab *U. C.* 39. 712

3300 *The Death of* Numa. 671

3301 *The Reign of* Tullus Hoſtilius. 670

3332 *The Death of* Tullus Hoſtilius. 639

3333 *The Reign of* Ancus Martius. 638

3356 Ancus Martius *died one hundred Years after* Romulus. 615

3357 Tarquin I. *reigned in* 138 *Year* ab *U. C.* 614

3394 Tarquin I. *was ſlain* 600 *Years after the death of of* Æneas. 577

3395 Servius Tullius *began his Reign the* 176*th Year* ab *U. C.* 576

3406 *The firſt Celebration* (*a*) *of the* Compital Games. 565

3438 Servius Tullius *was Maſſacred the* 219*th Year* ab *U. C.* 533

The Reign of Tarquin the Proud, *the laſt King of the* Romans.

3463 Lucretia *Raviſhed by* Sextus *the Son of* Tarquin *killed her ſelf.* 508

3464 Tarquin *was expelled* Rome *and his Kingdom, the* 24*th of* February; *and the Form of the Government of* Rome *was changed. They made Conſuls, of which there were Five the firſt Year.* 507

3465

(*a*) Varro *lib.* 5. *de* L. L. Dionyſ. *Halicar. Antiquit. l.* 4. Macrob. *Saturn. l.* 1. *c.* 5. & 7. Phylarg. *in* 2. Georg. Perſij *vetus Interpres ad Sat.* 5. *De* Pertuſis Computis. A. Gellius *Noct Atticar. l.* 10. *c.* 24. Arnobius *l.* 3. *ad fin.*

3465 *War with* Porſena *King of* Cluſium, *now* Chiuſi, *in* Tuſcany. 506

3466 *The Conſul* Horace *dedicated the Temple of* Jupiter *on the Capitol, in the 247th Year,* ab *U. C.* 505

3472 Titus Lartius Flavius, *was the firſt* Dictator *of* Rome. *He was Dictator in the 70th* Olympiad; 253, *ab* U. C. 400 *Years before the birth of* Julius Cæſar, *the laſt Dictator of the* Romans. 409

3476 *The Inſtitution of the* (a) Saturnalia, *in the* 71ſt. Olympiad, *ab* U.C. 257. 495

3477 *The* Latins *were defeated by the Dictator* Poſthumius, *near the Lake* Regillus. *This was the laſt Battle of the* Romans *againſt* Tarquin, *who died ſome time after, in the 14th Year of his Exile.* 494

This Battle is deſcribed well in *Livy*; and the Lake *Regillus* was in the Territories of *Tuſculum*, a City of old *Latium*. *Tuſculum* is now call'd *Fraſcati*, 12 Miles from *Rome*; and this Lake is that of *Caſtiglione*, if we believe *Kircher*; of *San Preſſede*, according to *Paulus Jovius*; others call it *Sainte Severe*. *Tarquin the Proud*, was wounded in the Side in this Fight, and preſently carried off by his Soldiers. *Octavius Mamilius*, of *Tuſculum*, the Son in law of *Tarquin*, was killed there by *Titus Herminius*, who died while they were taking care of his Wounds. *Marcus Valerius*, the Brother of *Valerius Publicola*, as he was purſuing *Tarquin*'s Son, received a Wound, of which he fell dead on the Spot. This ſame Year *Tarquin the Proud* died at *Cumæ*, a City of old *Campania*, whither he retired to *Ariſtodemus*, who was King of it.

3480 *The Tribunes of the People were firſt created in the* 72d. Olympiad, U. C. 261. 491

(a) Macrob. *Saturn. l.* 1. *c.* 7. 10. *&c.* Lipſius Stuchius *in Antiq. Conviv. c.* 33. *fol.* 124. *Under al. ortum, Saturn Feſtum. Dilherus Diſput. Acad. T.* 9. *p.* 182.

C. Licinius, and *L. Albinus*, were the Tribunes: Theſe Magiſtrates were granted to the People to ſatisfie them, and to moderate the Authority of the Conſuls, which was too great, with reſpect to the People. It was alſo decreed, that this Office ſhould never be conferred on a Senator.

3482 Coriolanus *was condemned by the People, for endeavouring to hinder the Corn, which was brought from* Sicily, *from being diſtributed amongſt the People, when there was a great Famine at* Rome. *He retired to the* Volſci. 488

After the People were appeaſed, they choſe *Spurius Caſſius*, and *Poſthumus Cominius* Conſuls; and under their Conſulſhip, the *Romans* made an Alliance with the *Latins*. When the former had concluded the Treaty at *Rome*, *Poſthumus Cominius* had order to march againſt the *Volſci*, and he not only put them to flight, but alſo attacked them in *Corioli*, after he had taken two of their Cities, *Longula* and *Poluska*. *Cneius Marcius* was amongſt the braveſt of the Youth in *Cominius*'s Camp; and as he was one Day on the Guard, it happened, that ſome Legions from *Antium* prepared to attack the *Romans*, at the ſame time that thoſe who were beſieged at *Corioli*, ſallied out to force them to raiſe the Siege. *Marcius* taking ſome choſen Men with him, beat back the latter into their City; entred it; put to the Sword thoſe that oppoſed him, and burnt the Houſes that ſtood neareſt the Walls. The Inhabitants ſeeing their City on Fire and in Blood, no longer defended themſelves againſt the *Romans*, but by diſmal Groans, which ſo terrified the Men of *Antium*, that they treated in diſorder, being not able to give any more ſuccour to the City which was taken. Thus *Cneius Marcius*, who had the ſirname of *Coriolanus*, from *Corioli*, which he took, had all the glory of this War. *Corioli* was the capital City of the *Volſci*, according to *Plutarch*, and ſome call it *Coriolla*.

During the time of the Peoples revolt from the Senate, the Lands had not been tilled, which neglect was followed

followed with a Famine in *Rome*. Corn was very difficult to be gotten, and thoſe who had bought ſome at *Cumæ*, were ſtopped with their Veſſels by *Ariſtodemus*, who was Heir of *Tarquin*'s Goods, which had been given up to plunder. There arrived Corn from *Sicily*, and *Coriolanus* ſtiffly maintained, that the Senate ought not to give it out at the common rates, as long as there were Tribunes of the People, whoſe Power was inſupportable. Theſe, whom the People lookt on as their ſole Protectors, and who ſought nothing but to gain their Affections, ſummon'd *Coriolanus*, but he in contempt not appearing on the Day appointed him, was condemned. Being forced to quit the City, he determined to go to the *Volſci*, to revenge himſelf both of the Magiſtrates, who had baniſhed him, and the others who had ſuffer'd this Injuſtice. He offered himſelf to the *Volſci*, animated them againſt the *Romans*, and they ſoon made War on them. He firſt drove all the *Romans* out of *Circæum*, a Sea-Port of *Latium*, and ſet it at Liberty. He recovered ten Towns more out of their Hands, which they had taken from the *Volſci*, or the *Latins*; and marching towards *Rome*, he encamped within five Miles of it, with his whole Army, which ravaged all the open Country, except thoſe Parts of it that belong'd to the *Patricians*. In this confuſion, ſome at *Rome* moved for Peace; and Ambaſſadours were ſent to him. He gave them a rough anſwer, That they ſhould reſtore to the *Volſci* what they had taken from them; that otherwiſe, he was juſt ready to ſhew the Senſe which he had of the Favour of that People who received him, and of the Injury which his own Citizens had done him. They ſent again the ſame Perſons whom he would not hearken to; and the Prieſts clad in their ſacerdotal Ornaments, could prevail no more than the Ambaſſadours.

At laſt ſome Women being aſſembled in Companies, either thro' Fear, which is natural to the Sex, or by a ſecret Conſultation of the Senate, intreated *Veturia*, *Coriolanus*'s Mother, and his Wife *Volumnia*. to accompany them with her two Children to the Enemies Camp, to ſee if the Women could not ſave by their

Prayers, a City which the Men could not defend with their Arms. When they told him that ſome *Roman*-women were in his Camp, and deſired to ſpeak with him, he appeared yet more unrelenting than before; and as he obſtinately rejected all their Deſires, one of his Servants coming to him, told him, that he was much miſtaken, if amongſt theſe Ladies he did not ſee his Mother *Veturia*, his Wife *Volumnia*, and his two Children. He had no ſooner ſaid it, but *Coriolanus* roſe from his Seat to go and embrace his Mother, that was now very aged, and inſtead of Prayers, entring in anger, *Before I receive your Embraces*, ſaid ſhe to him, *I muſt know whether I come to ſee my Son or my Enemy, whether I am your Mother or your Captive. Have I lived ſo many Years only to ſee you amongſt the Baniſhed, and afterwards amongſt the Enemies of your Country? Could you lay waſt a Countrey which gave you your Birth and Education? and enter it with Menaces and Fury? Is not your Fury ſpent ſince the firſt Step you made on the Frontiers? In ſeeing* Rome, *did you not remember, that your Houſe, your Mother, your Wife, your Children, and your Gods themſelves are encloſed within its Walls? Would this City then have not been beſieged, if I had never brought you into the World? And had it not been for my Son, I ſhould have died in Liberty my ſelf, and left my Country ſo too. I do not know whether this is more diſgraceful to you, or more diſmal to me; and as I have not long to live, I ſhall have no long time to ſuffer. Look, look, at laſt, upon your Children; and conſider; that if you purſue your Deſign, that you go either to haſten their Death, or to make them live only Slaves.*

His Wife and Children immediately embraced him, and he was ſo moved with their Tears, and the Lamentations of the Ladies that accompanied them, that after he had ſent them away, he retreated, (a) *A. M.* 3485, to encamp at a greater diſtance. Some ſay that the *Volſci* being highly offended at this Retreat, put

(a) *Ingratus eſt* Coriolanus, *ſero & poſt ſæloris pœnitentiam pius, Poſuit arma, ſed in medio parricidio,* Senecca *de Benef. l.* 5. *c.* 16.

put him to death; and others ſay, he lived to be a very old Man, but diſconſolate, to ſee himſelf baniſhed from his Country. That which is certain, is, that the *Roman* Ladies ſaved the City, and in memory of ſo great good Fortune, they built a Temple, which was conſecrated *to the Womens Fortune.*

3487 *This was the firſt time that there was made a Law for dividing the Lands, it being introduced by the Conſul* Spurius Caſſius. 484

After the retreat of *Coriolanus*, the *Volſci* found means to joyn themſelves with the *Æqui*, a People of old *Latium*, lying between the *Sabines*, the *Marſi*, and the *Hernici*. They continued the War againſt the *Romans*; but as the *Æqui* would not be commanded by the *Volſcian* General, it occaſioned a bloody Fight betwixt them. By reaſon of this Quarrel, the *Romans* had no need to defend themſelves, and their Enemies took Arms only to deſtroy one another. The *Hernici* having been beaten by the *Romans*, made their Peace, for which they paid two Thirds of their Country; one Part of which was given to the *Latines*, and *Spurius Caſſius* was for dividing the other among the poorer ſort of People; together with thoſe Lands which private Perſons had gotten into their Hands, but which, according to his Opinion, belonged to the Publick. By this Bounty towards the Allies, this Complaiſance to the People, and by another Law which he durſt introduce, That the Money received for Corn, which had been ſent from *Sicily*, ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the poor People, he fell under ſuſpicion of aiming either to ſucceed *Coriolanus* in his Office with the *Volſci*, or of aſpiring to the Sovereignty. It is not certain whether he had any ſuch Deſign, but upon this Suſpicion, his Enemies put him to Death, in the Conſulſhip of *Servius Tullius*, and *Quintus Fabius*, which may be ſeen in *Livy*.

3513 Herdonius *ſeized the Capitol.* 458

Herdonius Sabinus, the Head of the Slaves and Exiles, who made a Body of Four thouſand Men, ſeized the Capitol by Night. It was re-taken, and all the Rebels cut in pieces, and *Herdonius* amongſt them.

4524 Virginius *put his own Daughter to Death.* 447

Appius Claudius was paſſionately in love with a young Virgin, whoſe Father *Virginius* had promiſed her to *L. Icilius*, who had been Tribune. To compaſs his Deſigns on the Maid, whom he could not corrupt by Preſents, he ordered *M. Claudius*, one of his Confidents, to demand her as a Perſon born of his Slave, and who for this reaſon belonged of right to him. *Virginius* being generally well known to all People, for the Services that he had done the State, was in the Camp; and this Difference being to be decided by *Appius*, it was very likely that the Paſſion of this brutiſh Man would be ſatisfied. *Virginia* being gone to the Hall or *Forum*, *M. Claudius* takes her, carries her before the Tribunal of her Lover, who decreed, that *M. Claudius*, who laid claim to her, ſhould take her home, on condition to have her forth-coming at the Arrival of him who had hitherto paſſed for her Father. All the Kindred of this *Roman* Maid, the Perſon to whom ſhe was contracted, the People, and the Women, loudly exclaim'd againſt this Sentence. And *Appius*, who foreſaw very well, that he ought not, in regard to his ſafety, to be too precipitate, deſired *Claudius* to ſuſpend his Right till the morrow. In the mean time *Icilius* haſten'd to the Camp, where the Father of his betrothed Miſtreſs was, informed him of the matter, preſſed his return; and they departing the ſame Evening, came to *Rome* in the Morning. *Appius*, who continued on the Bench, fearing, poſſibly, leſt it ſhould be ſuſpected, that he went to the Court only on the account of this cauſe, heard the Lawyers on other matters; but he was no ſooner got home, but he wrote Letters to his Collegues in the Camp, *That inſtead of giving* Virginuis *leave to come away, they ſhould take care to ſet a good Guard on him.* But this advice was received too late; and *Appius* appeared

peared amazed, to ſee in the Morning, *Virginius*, *Icilius*, and *Virginia*, accompanied with their Advocates, their Kindred, all their Friends, and a conſiderable number of *Roman* Ladies; and the whole Court throng'd with People, who came in expectation of the Conſul's Sentence. *Virginius* ſaluted moſt of thoſe he knew, repreſented to others, that it was for the defence of their Wives and Children that he was always engaged in Fights and Battles, and conjured them not to abandon him on this occaſion. *Appius*, whoſe Paſſion was grown to a ſort of Madneſs, pronounced the Sentence, and decreed that *M. Claudius* ſhould keep the Maid as his Slave. Every one murmured againſt this Injuſtice; and *Claudius* went to lay hold on the Virgin, who was in the midſt of the Ladies that accompanied her, and who cried out as he was ſeizing her. *Virginius* implored the compaſſion of the Judge, and when he could prevail nothing with his Tears, Prayers, nor Threats, he deſired that he might be permitted at laſt to ſpeak with his Daughter, and her Nurſe, to inform himſelf more particularly of the Truth. It was granted him; and having drawn *Virginia* aſide, and taking up a Knife that he found on a Butcher's Shambles. *My dear* Virginia, ſaid he, *here, at laſt, is all that is left me to preſerve thy Honour and thy Liberty.* And at the ſame inſtant he ſtabb'd her to the Heart; and not only eſcap'd from the multitude, altho' *Appius* commanded that he ſhould be apprehended, but went to the Camp with 400 Men following him. At the firſt report of this Fact, which he excus'd thro' the neceſſity he was under of committing it to preſerve his Daughter's Honour; the Soldiers (who had a greater Horror of the Judge's than of the Father's Crime) took Arms, diſplayed their Colours, and marched to *Rome*, where they poſſeſſed themſelves of the *Aventine* Hill. All the People exclaimed againſt *Appius*, whom they put in Priſon, and who killed himſelf to prevent his Sentence of Death. *Spurius Oppius*, who was at *Rome*, and thro' caution ſuffered the tyrannical Sen ence of his Collegue without oppoſing it, died by his own Hands; and *M. Claudius*, the Confident of *Appius*, was condemned.

3535 L. Quintius Cincinnatus *was taken from the Plow to the Dictatorſhip.* 436

The *Æqui* having broken the Peace with the *Romans*, beſieged *Minucius* in his Camp; the News whereof being brought to *Rome*, they went to fetch *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* from the other ſide of the *Tiber*, who had quitted all Employments to till four Acres of Land. They made him Dictator; and he not only broke thro' the *Æqui*, but added infamy to their defeat. To make theſe People confeſs their Nation had been conquered by the *Romans*, he ordered two Spears to be ſtuck into the Gronnd, and a third to be laid upon them, under which he made the *Æqui* paſs; and this is what they call *paſſing under the Yoke*. After he had given the Plunder of their Camp to his Army, he re-entred *Rome* in Triumph; and altho' they had granted him the Dictatorſhip for ſix Months, he reſigned it the 16*th* Day after he received it.

3563 *The* Carthaginians *under the Conduct of* Hannibal, *took* Selinon *and* Himera *in* Sicily. 408

3566 *The* Carthaginians *took* Agrigentum *or* Agragas *in* Sicily. 405

3569 *The City of* Veij *is beſieged and taken by the Dictator* Camillus, *in the tenth Year of that War.* 402

They beſieged *Veij*, the richeſt City of *Tuſcany*, when they choſe *M. Furius Camillus* Dictator, and *P. Cornelius Scipio* General of the *Roman* Horſe. *Camillus* viſited the Country of *Veij*, returned to *Rome*, where he raiſed new Troops, and beat the *Faliſci* and the *Capenates*. The *Faliſci* were towards *Galeſo*, or towards St. *Oreſta*; on *Monte Fiaſcone* according to ſome; and *Capena*, now *Canepina*, is betwixt *Viterbo* and *Capreoli*, 32 Miles from *Rome*. After his Victory he went directly to *Veij*; fortified his Camp; carried a Mine under a Fortteſs; attacked the Town on all ſides, and *A. M.* 3578, made himſelf Maſter of it.

A. M.

A. M. 3580, when he was a Military Tribune he laid Siege to *Faleria*, and when he expected not but that it would laſt as long as *Veij*, he won thoſe People by an act of Juſtice, whom he poſſibly would never have ſubdued by Force. The *Faliſci* commonly made uſe of the ſame Perſon to inſtruct and to accompany their Children when they went any whither; and as he who had at that time the Education of them, was wont in time of Peace to go out of the City with them to divert them, he continued to do the ſame during the War. So having led them one Day at a good diſtance from the Walls, he made them paſs the Enemies Advanced-Guard; he carried afterwards even into the Camp, and to the General's Tent. To this Action the Traitor added this Speech, *That to deliver to the* Romans *the Children of thoſe who had the greateſt Authority in the City, was in effect to deliver them the City it ſelf.* *Camillus* having an abhorrence of this execrable Treachery, commanded that this School-Maſter ſhould be ſtripp'd; that his Hands ſhould be tied behind him, and Rods ſhould be given the Lads to drive him before them to *Faleria*. The Beſieged, who admired the Generoſity of their Enemy, returned him Thanks; deſired leave of him to ſend Deputies to *Rome*; opened their Gates to the *Romans*, and ſwore that they would be ever faithful to them.

A. M. 3583 *Camillus* is ſummoned by *Apuleius*, a Tribune of the People, to anſwer for an unequal diſtribution of the Spoils taken at *Veij*. When *Apuleius* had ſent for thoſe of his Tribe and his Party, who made the greateſt part of the People, to know their Sentiments; they anſwered that they would pay the Sum he ſhould be Fin'd. That he might not anſwer, he retired, and in his abſence was condemned to a moderate Fine.

3584 *The* Gauls *under the Conduct of* Brennus *their King took* Rome, *and were Maſters of the whole City except the Capitol.* 387

The

The *Gauls* having beſieged *Cluſium*, the Beſieged as their laſt Refuge, ſent to the *Romans* to pray them to diſpatch Ambaſſadours to theſe barbarous People, and three *Fabij* were ſent. Theſe, whom *Brennus* received very courteouſly, demanded of him, *What Injury the* Cluſians *had done him, which obliged him to declare War againſt them.* *Brennus* ſmiling anſwered them, *That altho' there were but few People in this Country, yet they would poſſeſs a great deal of Land which it is not poſſible for them to Till, and in the mean time they refuſe to give us Strangers any of it who could improve it.* The Albans, *the* Fidenates, *the* Ardeates, *the* Veientes, *the* Capenates, *the* Faliſci, *the* Volſci, *have been no more faulty than the* Cluſians; *and you have taken their Countries and kept them. Have therefore leſs Compaſſion for the* Cluſians *whom we beſiege leſt you inſpire the* Gauls *with the ſame for ſo many People which you oppreſs.* The *Romans*, who well perceived by this Anſwer, that there was no Treaty to be made with *Brennus*, entred the City, preſſed the Soldiers and the Inhabitants to make a Sally on their Enemies; and Q. *Fabius Ambuſtus* put himſelf into the Action. He rode up to a *Gaul* whom he killed; and King *Brennus* who knew him, called the Gods to Witneſs, that *Fabius* came as an Ambaſſador, but had acted the part of an Enemy. After the Fight he raiſed the Siege; marched his Army towards *Rome*, and ſent an Herald to the Senate, to demand Satisfaction for this Injury. They hearkned not to ſo juſt Complaints; and the *Gauls*, who reſented this Contempt, thought on nothing but revenge. The Military Tribunes, amongſt whom were theſe three *Fabij*, expected the Enemy in the Field, with an Army of 40000 Foot, and encamped along the River *Allia*, which is the *Rio di Moſſo* of ſome, and the *Caminate* of others. They were defeated by the *Gauls*, who finding the Gates of *Rome* open, entered, none oppoſing them. After they had killed all they met, they plundered without diſtinction the Houſes which they entred in confuſion; ſet Fire to them, and ſpared neither Palaces nor Temples. Only the Capitol remained, which they beſieged

ſieged; and as Proviſions began to fail them, they were forced to go into the Villages to ſeek it.

Furius Camillus was at *Ardea*, whither he retired after the Injury they had done him; and as he underſtood that the *Gauls* were ſeeking for Proviſions in diſorder, and that they obſerved no Diſcipline in the place where they were Encamped, he got together ſome Forces, and by Night vigorouſly attacked the Camp of the *Gauls*, who were aſleep or Drunk. They ſecurely made a ſlaughter of them without any hazard; and the next Day the Cavalry compleated the Slaughter of thoſe who had eſcaped the firſt Attack. There remained nothing but to relieve the *Romans*, who, after the defeat of *Allia*, had retired into the Capitol, which *Brennus* Beſieged; and altho' the *Ardeates* and the *Veientes* had choſen *Furius Camillus* for their General, and preſſed him to lead them on againſt *Brennus*, he anſwered them, that he could not receive this Office but from the *Romans*, who notwithſtanding the calamitous Condition they were in, repreſented the Body of the City.

Pontius Cominius, a Man of greater Ambition than Birth, offered to get into the Capitol; he managed Matters ſo well that he did it; he informed the Beſieged of the defeat of the *Gauls* in their Camp, which they knew not before; he came out again undiſcovered by the Enemy; and brought *Camillus* a Commiſſion from the *Romans*, who choſe him a ſecond time for their Dictator. Some *Gauls* paſſing by chance on the ſide where *Cominius* got up, and obſerving the Earth tumbled down, the Buſhes and the Graſs troden, or broken along the Rock, went to inform the King of it, who the Night following detached ſome Soldiers, whom he made aſcend in Files by the ſame way. The foremoſt began to make themſelves Maſters of the Wall, when the Geeſe that were kept in *Juno*'s Temple, ran towards them, and with their gaggling waked the Gariſon. Every one made towards the place where the Geeſe made the noiſe, and *Marcus Manlius*, a Conſular Perſon, ſeeing a *Gaul* lifting up his Ax to ſtrike him on the Head, avoided the blow, and at the ſame inſtant, with his Sword cut off his Hand. He knocked down another Sol-

Soldier with his Buckler; and the *Romans* having beaten back thoſe that followed, the next Day threw down headlong, from the top of a Rock, the Captain of the Guard who by his Negligence had put the Capitol into ſo great danger.

The *Gauls* afterwards deſpaired of their Enterprize; beſides the Plague and Famine every Day leſſened their Numbers. The *Romans* who had been ſeven Months beſieged in the Capitol, and knew not what was become of *Camillus*, were in ſo great a want of Proviſions, that they were forced to Capitulate. They were weighing the (*a*) Gold which the *Gauls* had agreed on, when *Camillus* appeared with an Army at the Gates of *Rome*; and being entred, commanded they ſhould carry back the Gold which was in the Ballance, and that the *Gauls* ſhould retire. *Brennus* complained of this procedure, and *Camillus* briskly anſwered, *That he was Dictator*, and that an inferiour Magiſtrate could not treat without his Order. They came to blows in the Ruins of the Houſes, and in the Streets; and *Brennus*, who was forced to retreat, went and encamp'd three Leagues diſtant from *Rome*. *Camillus* who endeavoured to make his Advantage of the occaſion, marched in the Morning againſt the *Gauls*; charged them without giving them time to range themſelves in Order; cut them in pieces; and if we may credit the Hiſtorians, ſcarce one of them eſcaped the Slaughter.

A. M. 3588. the ſame *Camillus* defeated the *Volſci*, the *Æqui*; and triumph'd over them.

3590 Marcus Manlius *ſurnamed* Capitolinus, *from the* Capitol *which he ſaved, was thrown down Head-long from the* Tarpeian *Hill for aſpiring to the Sovereignty.* 381

He was thrown drown Head-long as ſome Hiſtorians have written with *Varro*; but *Cornelius Nepos* ſaith, that

(*a*) *The* Romans *were to give the weight of ten thouſand Pounds of Gold.*

that he was whipped to Death. The *Tarpeian* Hill, is one of the ſeven Hills of *Rome*, and had this Name from the Virgin *Tarpeia*, whom they buried there. It is *Campidoglio*, at this Day.

3612 *The* Gauls *having paſſed* Teverone, *encamped within three Miles of* Rome. 359

A Gaul *of an extraordinary Size, who had challenged the ſtouteſt Man of the* Roman *Army to fight a Duel, was ſlain by* Titus Manlius, *the Son of* Lucius *He was ſirnamed* Torquatus, *from the Collar which he took from him, and the whole Family took this Name.*

3630 Titus Manlius, *the Son of the Conſul, cut off his own Son's Head, for Fighting with an Enemy who challenged him.* 341

The *Latins* and the *Capuans*, having revolted from the *Romans*; *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, and *P. Decius Mus*, the Conſuls, marched againſt them with two Armies, and encamped near *Capua*, where the Enemies rendezvouſed. Being to Fight againſt the *Latines*, whoſe martial Diſcipline, Manners, Language, and Arms, were the ſame with thoſe of the *Romans*; and ſince the Soldiers of both often mixed in the ſame Garriſons, and the ſame Companies, the two Conſuls, to prevent any miſtake, publiſhed an Order, *That no Perſon ſhould fight out of his Rank. Titus Manlius*, the Conſul's Son, being ſent afterwards with a Party of Horſe, to view the Enemy, was got almoſt within ſhot of their advanced Guards, in which was the Cavalry of *Tuſculum*, commanded by *Geminius Metius*, who was conſiderable both for his Actions and his Birth. The latter knew him, and after ſome Converſation, in which, each extolled the Valour and Skill of his own Nation, he asked him, whether he was diſpoſed to ſhew by a Duel, that the *Latin* Cavaliers were much inferiour to the *Romans*. *Manlius* accepted his offer; and the Horſemen being retired, they charged on Horſeback. At their firſt Courſe they drew no Blood; but returning to the Combat, and *Manlius* thruſting his Spear betwixt the

the Ears of *Metius*'s Horſe, the Horſe pranced, and toſſing his Head, threw *Geminius* to the ground. He leaned to raiſe himſelf, when *Manlius* puſhing at him with his Spear as he lay on the ground, did both pierce his Throat and run him thro' the Body. He returned to the Camp, carried the Spoils of his Enemy to his Father's the Conſul's Tent, who, at the relation of his Action, turned his Back upon him; and after he had drawn up the Army, commanded his Son to be Beheaded, for preferring a falſe Glory to the Prohibition which the Conſuls had made, *That no Perſon ſhould fight out of his Rank.*

3651 *The* Romans *being beaten by the* Samnites, *paſſed under* the Yoke, *and are ſent home, after they had made a diſhonourable Peace.* 320

The *Samnites* who had been beaten the Year before, under the Conſulſhip of *Quintus Fabius*, and *Lucius Fulvius*, had this Year a great advantage over the *Romans*. The former had *Caius Pontius* for their General, and the two Conſuls, *Titus Valerius Corvinus*, and *Spurius Poſthumius* commanded the latter. Theſe having brought the *Roman* Army betwixt two Hills (a) into narrow Places, whence they could neither go forwards nor backwards, becauſe *Pontius* had ſhut up both Paſſages, ſoon perceived that their Imprudence would be the loſs of the whole Army. To ſave which, they capitulated, but ſo diſhonourably, that they were obliged to ſubmit to whatever Terms *Pontius* ſhould give them. The Articles of the Treaty were, *That the whole Army ſhould march out of their Retrenchments, without Arms: That it ſhould paſs under the Yoke: That the* Romans *ſhould quit all the Territories of the* Samnites: *That they ſhould draw their Colonies thence: That hereby the two Nations ſhould be in equal Alliance; if each of 'em liv'd according to the Cuſtomes of their Country: That in the mean time, they ſhould deliver* 600 Roman *Knights as Hoſtages, who ſhould with their Heads pay for the violation of this Treaty, in caſe it ſhould be broken by the Senate.* Altho' the Conditions

(a) *De* Caudinis Furcis. *Tit. Liv. Dec.* 1. *l.* 9. *c.* 2.

tions were ſevere, yet the *Romans* being in ſo diſmal a condition, conſented to them; and after they had made the two Conſuls paſs half naked under the Yoke, they treated all the Officers and the Soldiers generally after the ſame manner, each with greater or leſſer Indignity, according to his Degree. The *Romans* revenged this great Affront to their wiſh, by breaking the Treaty they had made, as you may ſee in *Livy*.

3660 Appius Claudius *the Cenſor, paved the great Way, which had his Name, and conveyed Water into* Rome *by a Canal.* 311

3679 L. Papyrius Curſor, *fought the* Samnites *near* Aquilonia. *In this Battle* 30340 *were ſlain; he made* (f) 3870 *Priſoners, and took* 97 *Standards.* 392

3704 *The Cities of* Rimini, *on the Coaſt of the* Adriatick *Sea in* Romandiola, *and of* Benevento, *which was called* Maleventum *and* Beneventum, *in the Kingdom of* Naples, *are built or repaired by the* Romans. 267

3708 *The firſt* Punick-War, *which laſted* 23 *Years.* 263

3725 Hannibal *was born.* 246

3731 *The* Romans *and* Carthaginians *make Peace.* 240

3733 *The Poet* Ennius *was born.* 238

3734 *The War of the* Ligurian Gauls *with the* Romans. 237

The Carthaginians *ſend* Hamilear *into* Spain, *whither he carried his Son* Hannibal *with him, who was not yet nine Years old.*

3740 *The Birth of the* Elder Cato. 231

3742 *The death of* Hamilcar, *the Father of* Hannibal. 229

3743 *The War of the* Romans *in* Illyria. 228

3747 *The* Romans *kill* 40000 Ciſalpine Gauls *in a Battle,* i. e. Gauls *who were on the Eaſt-ſide of the* Alps, *and about the* Po. 224

3750 *King* Viridomarus *is killed by* Marcellus. 221

The Romans *ſubdu'd the* Iſtrians.

3751 Hannibal *at the age of* 26 *Years, is made General of the* Carthaginians *in* Spain, *after the death of* Haſdrubal. 220

3752 Hannibal *defeats the* Vaccæians *and* Carpeſians. 219
3753 Hannibal *takes* Saguntum. 218
3754 *The* Second Punick War *laſted* 17 *Years.*
Hannibal *defeats* Tiberius Sempronius Longus.
3755 Hannibal *defeats* C. Flaminius *near* Thraſimene. 216

Hannibal who was not ignorant that *Flaminius* was hot and raſh, marched towards *Fieſoli*, to ravage *Tuſcany*, and doubted not but the Conſul would be yet more Imprudent, when he ſaw this diſorder at a diſtance, which he might judge of by the Villages which the *Carthaginians* ſet all in Flames. At the ſight of this, the *Roman* General advanced to a place where *Thraſimene* approaches neareſt to the Mountains of *Cortona*. Betwixt theſe Mountains and the Lake, they paſs by a narrow way into a Plain which enlarges it ſelf inſenſibly, and at the end of which are Mountains. *Hannibal* encamped openly in this place with the *Africans* and *Spaniards*, poſted his light arm'd Soldiers behind the Mountains, his Cavalry at the entrance of this Paſs, where they were covered with ſome little Hills, ſo that *Flaminius* could not enter it without being hem'd in by the Mountains, by *Thraſimene*, and by the Cavalry. He fell into the very mouth of this Ambuſcade, where he was ſlain with all his Army. except 6000 of the Van-Guard, who eſcaping, were afterwards taken by *Maharbal* who purſued them; and this is the Battle of *Thraſimene* ſo famous in Hiſtory. *Livy* ſaith, that they fought with ſuch fury, that they were not ſenſible of a terrible Earthquake, which at the ſame time overturned ſeveral Cities of *Italy*, and even levelled Mountains.

3756 *The Battel of* Cannæ *a little Village of* Apulia, *near the River* Ofanto, *betwixt* Canuſium, *and the Adriatick Sea. The* Romans *are defeated here by* Hannibal. 215

Clau-

Claudius Marcellus *defeats* Hannibal *at* Nola, *a City and Colony of* Campania.

3758 *The* Romans *retook* Saguntum, *in the* Tarraconenſian Spain, *which the* Carthaginians *had poſſeſſed five Years.* 213

3760 Claudius Marcellus *takes* Syracuſe. Archimedes, *who had defended it a long time with his Engines, as he was contemplating ſome Geometrical Figures which he had drawn on the Sand, was ſlain there by a Soldier, who did not know him.* 211

P. *and* Cneius Scipio, *the two Generals of the* Roman *Army in* Spain, *were defeated and ſlain in two Battles by the Armies which* Haſdrubal *the Son of* Giſco, *and* Mago *and* Haſdrubal *the Sons of* Hamilcar *commanded.*

3761 *The City of* Capua *is taken by the Conſuls* Quintus Fulvius *and* Appius Claudius. 210

'Twas in this Year that *Scipio*, who was afterwards ſurnam'd *Africanus*, began to ſignalize himſelf againſt the *Carthaginians*. He was about 24 Years old when he was ſent into *Spain* by the Senate, after the death of his Father and his Uncle. His Life may be ſeen in *Plutarch*.

3762 Scipio *takes* Carthage *in* Spain. 209

3763 *The Conſul* Q. Fabius *the Father takes* Tarentum. 208

3764 Claudius Marcellus *and* T. Quintus Criſpinus *Conſuls, going to view an Emiuence covered with a Wood, fell into an Ambuſh that* Hannibal *had laid for them.* Marcellus *was killed there; his Collegue* Criſpinus, *having received two Wounds by a Dart, fled and ſaved his Life.* 207

3765 Haſdrubal *the Son of* Hamilcar, *and Brother of* Hannibal, *is defeated with* 46000 *Men, by the Conſuls* Marcus Livius *and* Claudius Nero. 206

3766 *The* Carthaginians *are driven out of* Spain *by* P. Cornelius Scipio. 205

3767 *The firſt Conſulſhip of* P. Cornelius Scipio 204

3769 Scyphax *King of* Numidia *is put in Irons, and brought by* Lælius *to* Scipio. 202

Hannibal *passes out of* Italy *into* Africk, *by the order of the Senate of* Carthage, *in the 17th Year of the second* Punick *War*. 201

3770 Scipio *defeats* Hannibal, *and puts an end to the second* Punick *War by the defeat of the Carthaginians.*

3771 Scipio *Triumphs over the* Carthaginians, Hannibal *and* Scyphax. 200

It is not certainly known whether the Surname of *Africanus* was given to *Scipio* by the People or the Soldiers, or Flatterers. But it is certain, ſaith *Livy*, that he was the firſt who had his Surname from the Nation which he had ſubdued.

The Romans *grant Peace to the* Carthaginians.

3778 Scipio *is made Conſul the ſecond time.* 193

3785 Scipio, *whom the Tribunes of the People accuſed of taking Money of* Antiochus *King of* Syria, *retired to* Linternum, *a City of* Campagna di Roma, *where he died, aged* 54 *Years*, A. M. 3787. 186

3787 *The younger* Scipio, *who took* Carthage, *was born near about this time.* 184

3789 Hannibal *aged* 63 *Years poiſons himſelf and dies.* 182

Cornelius Nepos ſaith, that he was 70 Years old when he died, and the manner of his Death is ſomewhat doubtful, (*a*) ſome ſay that he was murthered by a Slave; others that he was hanged. But theſe latter have confounded this *Hannibal* of whom we are ſpeaking, with another *Hannibal*, who was defeated by *C. Sulpitius* in a Sea Fight, on the Coaſts of *Sardinia*. *Livy* ſaith, that *T. Quinctius Flaminius*, having been ſent Ambaſſador to *Pruſias* King of *Bythinia*, demanded

(*a*) *V.* Polyb. *l.* 1. *Epitom.* Liv. *l.* 17. Zonaras Freinſhemius *in Supplem.* Livij *l.* 8. *Decad.* 2.

ed of him to deliver up to him *Hannibal*, the moſt obſtinate Enemy of the *Roman* People; and that the King to ſecure him, ordered the Houſe whither *Hannibal* was retired to be inveſted by Soldiers. The *Carthaginian* who foreſaw the *Romans* would never let him reſt, and knew well enough the inconſtant Temper of *Pruſias*, endeavoured to make his eſcape by ſome Out-lets of the Houſe, which he had made upon the foreſaid jealouſie. But perceiving the moſt ſecret ones were not ſafe, and that there were Soldiers on every ſide, he called for the Poiſon which he had prepared a long time before, and ſaid, *The Victory of a betrayed and diſarmed Enemy could not be glorious to* Flaminius; *but I muſt at laſt free the* Romans *from the diſquiet I have given them, ſeeing they cannot wait for the Death of an old Man but with Impatience.* After this he drank off the Poiſon of which he died.

3803 *The Poet* Ennius, *aged* 70 *Years, dies three hundred Years after* Socrates. 168

3821 *The City of* Corduba, *in* Spain, *is built by* M. Claudius Marcellus. 150

3823 *The third* Punick War *begins, and is ended in four Years by the taking of* Carthage. 148

The Elder Cato *dies aged* 84 *Years.*

3824 Maſiniſſa *King of* Numidia *and an Ally of the* Roman *People dies, and* Scipio *divided his Dominions amongſt his Sons.* 147

3825 *The younger* Scipio *was choſen Conſul.* 146

3826 *The younger* Scipio *takes* Carthage. *He had thence the ſurname of* Africanus; *and the third* Punick War *was ended* 119 *Years after the beginning of the firſt. He triumphed over the* Carthaginians *and* Haſdrubal; *and there were* 55 *Years betwixt the Triumph of the firſt* Scipio Africanus, *and the Triumph of this latter, who took* Carthage. 145

Polybius *was in great Reputation.*

Of the Forty Books in which this Author wrote his Hiſtory, there have come to our Hands but the five

firſt, with the Abridgement of the twelve following, continued to the beginning of the Eighteenth; and ſome will have this Abridgement to have been made by *Marcus Brutus*, who preferr'd *Polybius*'s Hiſtory to all the Writings of *Cicero*.

He calls his Hiſtory *Univerſal*, becauſe indeed there were no People, at that time, who had not ſomething to do with the *Romans*; becauſe he treats of the Intereſt of the Kings of *Syria*, of *Egypt*, of *Macedonia*, of *Pontus*, of *Cappadocia*, of *Perſia*; and ſpeaks of whatſoever concerned other States. It comprehended all the remarkable Occurrences of the World, from the beginning of the ſecond *Punick* War, unto the end of that War which terminated all the differences of the *Romans* with the Kings of *Macedonia*, by the entire ruin of their Monarchy. In the two firſt Books he treats by way of Abridgement, of all that paſſed from the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, under the Conduct of *Brennus*, till the beginning of the firſt *Punick* War, and thence he continues it to the ſecond. That he might be exact in the deſcription of the places, of which he was to write, he paſſed into *Aſia* and *Africa*; he ſet Sail on the *Atlantick* Ocean, by the means of *Scipio*, who lov'd him entirely, and procured him Veſſels for this purpoſe. He croſſed part of the *Gauls*, and the *Alpes*, with a deſign to repreſent exactly *Hannibal*'s Paſſage into *Italy*; he travelled over all *Spain*, and ſtay'd longeſt at *New Carthage*, to obſerve at his leiſure its ſituation, and to omit nothing that concerned the Actions of his faithful Friend *Scipio*.

He was not careful in the choice of his Words, nor in the compoſition of his Periods. He was of *Megalopolis*, a City of *Arcadia*; he had for his Father *Lycortas*, who was General of the *Achæans*, and was deputed with him Ambaſſador to *Ptolemy* ſurnamed *Epiphanes*. *Polybius* in this quality of Ambaſſador went to meet the *Roman* Conſul, who made War on King *Perſeus* in *Theſſaly*. He lived 82 Years, and left beſides his Univerſal Hiſtory a Treatiſe *of the War of* Numidia, with ſome other Books which are loſt.

There

There is too much appearance that he had no Religion, ſeeing about the end of the Sixth Book of his Univerſal Hiſtory, he ſaith, that if it were poſſible to form a Commonwealth of vertuous and wiſe Men, the Fable of the Gods and the *Inferi* would be utterly uſeleſs; but that it was well however, that theſe imaginary fears were introduced amongſt Men, to reſtrain their Violences.

Pope *Nicholas* V. who was a lover and a reſtorer of polite Learning, when the *Turks* took *Conſtantinople*, was the firſt who obliged us with *Polybius*; and this Hiſtory hath always received additions at divers times, in all the various Editions it hath had.

3830 Mark Anthony the Orator, *who is highly praiſed by* Cicero, *was born three Years before the Orator* L. Craſſus. 141

The War of Numantia *in the* 613*th Year of* Rome, 1000 *Years after the death of* Aſcanius *the Son of* Æneas.

3837 *The War of the Slaves, who had already defeated ſome Prætors in* Sicily. 134

3840 P. Cornelius Scipio *triumphed for* Numantia 14 *Years after he had triumphed for* Carthage.

3841 *The* Romans *make War againſt* Ariſtonicus, *who after* Attalus's *death poſſeſſed himſelf of* Aſia. 130

The Year following he was defeated by the Conſul M. Perpenna, *and ſtrangled in Priſon at* Rome *by the command of the Senate.*

3843 *The younger* Scipio, *who had deſtroyed* Carthage *and* Numantia, *dies aged* 56 *Years.* 128

3856 Marcus Terentius Varro, *both a Poet and a Philoſopher was born this Year.* 115

3857 Q. Cæcilius Metellus *who had been Conſul, Cenſor, Augur, and who triumphed over* Macedonia, *which he had reduced under the* Roman *Power, died this Year. He had had the joy to ſee before his death his three Daughters married, his three Sons Conſuls, of whom one was Cenſor and triumphed.* 114

3858 Hortenſius *the Orator was born this Year. He was* Cicero's *great Friend.* 113

3859 *The* Cimbrian *War.* 112

3861 *The* Jugurthine *War.* 110

3863 Pomponius Atticus *was born this Year. There was a moſt entire Friendſhip between him and* Cicero; *and it was fit that the greateſt Orator of the Commonwealth ſhould have the honeſteſt Man that was in it for his Friend.* 108

Q. Cæcilius Metellus *triumphed over* Jugurtha, *and they gave him the Title of* Numidicus.

3864 L. Caſſius *the Conſul is defeated and ſlain by the People of* Zurich, *or the* Tigurines; *and they made his Army to paſs under the Yoke.* 107

3866 Marcus Tullius Cicero *was born this Year in a City of* Campania *named* Arpinum, *in the Conſulſhip of* C. Attilius Ceranus *and* Q. Servilius Cepio, *the third of* January, ab *U. C.* 646.

Pompey, *ſurnamed the* Great, *was born the* 30*th of* September, *ſeven Years before* Julius Cæſar.

Jugurtha *is taken and carried to* Marius.

3867 C. Manlius *the Conſul, and* Q. Servilius Cepio, *were defeated by the* Cimbri. *They took their Camp, and there were* 80000 *thouſand fighting Men, and* 40000 *Servants or Slaves killed.* 104

The Eſtate of Servilius Cepio, *whoſe Raſhneſs was the occaſion of this defeat, was confiſcated.*

3868 C. Marius *triumphed over* (a) Jugurtha, *whoſe two Children were led before the Triumphal Chariot; and* Marius *either thro' pride or inadvertency entred the Senate in his triumphal Robes; which none had ever done before him.* 103

3870 C. Marius *defeated the* Teutones *near the City of* Aix *in* Provence. *There were ſlain above* 50000. 101

3871 C. Marius *defeated the* Cimbri *near the River* Atheſis; *and there were* 120000 *ſlain, and above* 60000 *taken Priſoners.* 100

The

(a) *De* Jugurthâ *qui in triumpho ductus, deſipere ut fertur, ac delirare, cæpit.* Plut. *in* Mario. & Muret Variar *Lect. l.* 2. *c.* 10.

The *Teutones* and the *Ambrones* inhabited the Iſles of *Fumen* and of *Hietland*. The *Atheſis* is the ancient *Adrias*, now the *Adige*, which after having croſſed *Tirol*, and watred the *Trentin*, runs thro' *Trent* and *Verona*, and by ſeveral Mouths diſcharges it ſelf into the *Adriatick* Sea. Some Authors ſay, that the *Atheſis* is the River *Toſa*, which runs in to the Weſtern ſide of *Lac Major*.

3885 Cinna *and* Marius *poſſeſs themſelves of* Rome 86
The Poet Catullus *was born and lived* 30 *Years.*
3886 *The Hiſtorian* Criſpus Saluſtius *was born.* 85
3888 Cinna *is ſlain by his Soldiers, whom he would force to Embark and go againſt* Sylla. 83
3889 Sylla *enters* Italy *with an Army, and treats the* Romans (*a*) *cruelly.* 82
3890 Sylla *towards the end of this Year was created Dictator.* 81
3891 Pompey *being* 25 *Years old triumphed over* Hiarbas *King of* Numidia, *and* Sylla *gave him the Title of* the Great. *This was the firſt* Roman *Knight that triumphed.* 80
3894 Sylla's *Fleſh was all corrupted by an Impoſthume in his Body; he being informed that* Granius *waited for his Death to pay his Debts, ſent to ſeek for this* Granius, *and commanded he ſhould be ſtrangled in his Preſence. But ſtraining his Voice on this occaſion, he broke his Impoſthume, and there iſſued ſo great a quantity of blood from it, that he died.* 77

The true Character of *Sylla* was to humble himſelf, even to baſeneſs, to thoſe from whom he expected ſome Service, and to make himſelf adored by thoſe who ſtood in need of him.

(*a*) He

(*a*) Seneca *de Clementia, l.* 1. *c.* 12. Florus Dionyſ. *Halic. in fine, l.* 5. *quatuor millia*; Plutarch *Sex. Epitome* Livij, *Octo millia. Legiones duas, quod crudele eſt, poſt victoriam; quod nefas poſt fidem in angulo Congeſtas, contrucidavit.* Seneca *de Benef. l.* 5. *c.* 16.

(a) He was buried in *Mars's Field*, after he had been burnt in a Sheet which the greateſt Fire could not conſume, and which prevented the Aſhes of the Body from being mingled with thoſe of the Pile. Some have been of Opinion that theſe Sheets were made of the Stone *Amiantus*, or *Allum* of Feathers, which being reduc'd into a Cotton, may be eaſily Spun, as I have ſeen it. Father *Martini* relates in the Chap. of the Kingdom of *Tanyu*, that in *Tartary*, as they ſay, there grows upon Stones, a certain Herb which reſembles the leſſer kind of Hemp, but hath not ſo ſtrong Leaves, nor is very high, and which falls in pieces, and becomes like Dirt when it is put in Water. He adds, that it is in ſome ſort inflamed in the Fire, that afterwards it reſumes its former whiteneſs; that they make Tinder hereof, which laſts for ever, and that of this incombuſtible Herb the Ancients poſſibly made the Cloth which they uſed in burning the dead.

But this is what I can ſcarce believe; for indeed whether the Cuſtom of burning the dead was not introduced at *Rome* till after *Sylla*, as ſome Authors falſely pretend; or whether as others ſay, that he was only the firſt of the Family of the *Cornelij*, whom they burnt by his Order, leaſt he ſhould be cut in pieces after his Death; this is moſt certain, that the *Romans* at that time had little commerce with the *Scythians* or *Aſiatick Tartars*. Had the Seed or Root of this incombuſtible Herb been carried into *Italy* to be cultivated there, where it was ſo neceſſary, the Hiſtorians would have taken ſome notice of it; yet the ancient and modern Relations of *Tartary* mention

(a) *Quo apparatu quibuſq; cæremoniis apud veteres Corpora igni tradebantur &c.* Alex. *ab* Alexandro. *Adhæc vero ejuſdem* Alexandri, *c.* 2. Romanos *olim ab ortu defuncta corpora humi condere neque cremare conſueviſſe, illud argumento eſt. Vid.* Mercer. *Ubi ex Familia* Corneliorum, *inquit, nemo ante* Syllam *Dictatorem crematus eſt, vel auctore* Cicerone. *l.* 1. *de Legibus. Fuit ergo liberum cuique Familiæ, cremare vel ſepelire corpora ſuorum mortuorum.*

mention nothing of it. There is ſomething of it to be found in the firſt Chapter and 19th Book of *Pliny*, in the 36*th* Chap. of the Hiſtory *Apollonius* of *Alexandria*; in *Pauſanias*'s Atticks; in *Plutarchs* Book *Of the Oracles that have ceaſed.* You may alſo read *Strabo* concerning the Stone that is found at *Caryſtus* a City of the *Ægean* Sea; *Mark Paul* of *Venice*, in the 47*th* Chap. of the Firſt Book of his Hiſtory, concerning the Cloth of the Province of *Chinchintalas*, ſubject to the Great Cham of *Tartary*; Father *Kircher* in the 12*th* Ch. of his *Subterranean World*, and in the 11*th* Chapter of the Fourth part of his *China*. That which is certain in this Matter is, what I have related of the *Pyrenees*, of the Stones and Cloth of this *Asbeſtus*, or *Incombuſtible* thing; and I have given ſome of the curious of my Acquaintance ſome of them. It grows on the top of a Rock in the Valley of *Azun*, four Leagues diſtant from *Baregge*. It is white, ſweet, and fine as Silk, it is very dry, and I have ſome half an Ell long.

3898 Nicomedes *King of* Bithynia *dies, and leaves the* Roman *People Heir of his Kingdom.* 73

3899 L. Lucullus *the Proconſul defeats the Army of* Mithridates *near* Cyzicus.

Seventy four Gladiators who fled to Capua, *from the Games of* Lentulus; *after they had drawn together an Army of Slaves, made War in* Italy, *under the command of* Crixus *and* Spartacus. *They defeat* Claudius Pulcher *and the Prætor* P. Varenus.

Sertorius *is killed at a Feaſt by* Mark Anthony, M. Perpenna *and ſome others, eight Years after he began the War.*

3900 Lucullus *who purſued* Mithridates *entred* Pontus. 71

3901 *The Prætor* M. Craſſus, *who had cut off* 35000 *Fugitives, who were either* Gauls *or* Germans, *defeated* 4000 *Men commanded by* Spartacus, *who was ſlain in this Battel.* 70

Mithridates *purſued by* Lucullus *retired to* Tigranes *King of* Armenia.

3902

3902 Pompey *is the first time Consul.* Virgil *is born the* 15*th of* October, *in a Town called* Andes *near* Mantoüa, 700 *Years after* Romulus, *and* 400 *after* Socrates, *one hundred after the Death of* Ennius. 69

3903 Lucullus *defeats* Tigranes *and* Mithridates *in* Great Armenia, *takes* Tigranocerta *by Storm, which is plundered; but whereby his Order they shewed respect to all the Ladies.* 68

3904 *The Proconsul* Q. Metellus *takes* Gnossus, Lyctus, Cydonia, *and a great many more Cities in the Isle of* Creet. Tigranes *and* Mithridates *are again defeated by* Lucullus, *who takes* Nisibis, *where* Tigranes *ordinarily kept his Court.* 67

3905 Pompey *pursues the Pirates who intercepted the Provisions in their Carriage to* Rome; *they landed sometimes and destroyed all where they came with Fire and Sword; burnt Ships at Anchor in the Haven of* Ostia. *But he cleared the Coasts of them in* 40 *Days. The Proconsul* Q. Metellus *reduced the Isle of* Creet *under the* Roman *Obedience.* 66

3906 *Lucullus* is recalled to *Rome.* 65

Metellus, surnamed *Numidicus*, from *Numidia* which he had Conquered, was the Uncle of *Lucullus*, and the Son of a Father convicted of cheating the Publick, and of *Cæcilia*, who had no great reputation for Vertue. Before he had any Office in the Common-wealth, he brought an Action against the Augur *Servilius*, who had accused his Father; but *Servilius* had no great difficulty to clear himself. *Lucullus* understood *Latine* and *Greek* perfectly well, and had a wonderful readiness in expressing himself in both Languages. *Sylla*, who had a great Esteem for him, sent him into *Egypt* and *Lybia*, to procure for him all the Ships of those Parts; and notwithstanding he received his Commission in the midst of Winter, he considered neither the rigour of the Season, nor the strength of the Enemies who were at Sea. From *Candy*, whither he successfully arrived, he passed to the City of *Cyrene*, which the Tyrants had reduced to a miserable Condition, and made regulations, to which the Citizens, who knew the necessity

and

and importance of them, voluntarily and joyfully ſubmitted. Being got as far as *Egypt*, the Pirates took from him the beſt part of his Ships, and it was with difficulty he eſcaped to *Alexandria*, where he was received with great Pomp. With the Ships which he received of *Ptolemy*, who was very young, he ſailed to *Cyprus*, from *Cyprus* to *Rhodes*, and ſucceeded ſo well with the People of *Gnidus*, that they followed him to make War on the *Samians*, after he had firſt prevailed with them to quit the Intereſt of *Mithridates*. This King who had abandoned *Pergamus* a City of *Myſia*, in the leſſer *Aſia*, near *Æolis*, was retired to *Pitane*, where *Fimbria*, who at that time laid cloſe Siege to it, ſent Word to *Lucullus*, that if he pleaſed, it would be eaſie for him to come and ſhut up the Port of the City with his Ships, and by this means make himſelf Maſter of the moſt obſtinate Enemy the *Romans* had. But *Lucullus* out of deference to *Sylla*, whoſe Lieutenant he was, and thro' averſion to *Fimbria*, who had been the principal Author of the murther of the Conſul *Flaccus*, or for other private Reaſons, hearkened neither to his Promiſes nor his Remonſtrances, and gave *Mithridates* time to retire. He afterwards himſelf, alone defeated the King's Fleet near *Lectum*, now *Scorpiata*, a Cape of *Troas*; and another time near *Tenedos*, where he gave chaſe to *Neoptolemus* Lieutenant to *Mithridates*. After this King was retired, the Province of *Aſia* was condemned to pay Twelve Millions of Gold for their Revolt; and *Sylla* who gave *Lucullus* Commiſſion to raiſe this Sum, gave him Power alſo to Coin Money, in which he acquitted himſelf like an honeſt Man. He went afterwards againſt thoſe of *Mitylene*, and defeated them in a Battle; he beat the Forces of *Mithridates* in ſeveral rencounters, and forced him to fly into *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, who aſſumed the Title of *King of Kings*. Going into *Aſia* he eſtabliſhed good Order there; and by his means the *Aſiaticks* were delivered from the Slavery and Oppreſſions which they ſuffered under the *Roman* Farmers, who by their Uſury and exactions had raiſed the 12000000 of Gold that *Sylla* thought fit to impoſe on them, to 60. *Tigranes* being

being resolved to support the Cause of *Mithridates* his Father-in-law, was afterwards defeated by *Lucullus*; and *Plutarch* saith, that *Tigranes* had about a 100000 Men slain in the Battle; and that of the *Romans* there were but about one Hundred wounded, and five killed, altho' the former were twenty times stronger than the latter. After this Action, he took *Tigranocerta (a)* by Storm, where he found 4800000 Crowns, gave it to his Soldiers to plunder, and each of them also 80 Crowns apiece. He used his Victories and Conquests with such moderation, that the Kings of *Arabia*, the People of *Sophene* in *Armenia*, and those of *Gordiene* voluntarily surrendred themselves to him, and the King of the *Parthians* sent to him to desire his Alliance and Friendship. Thence he went to lay Siege to *Artaxata (b)* the Capital City of *Armenia*; he beat *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* again, and took *Nisibis*, or *Antioch (c)* of *Mygdonia*.

But Fortune which had not failed to follow him, almost abandoned him all at once, and his Troops provok'd with their fatigues, began to revolt. He was recalled to *Rome*, where he triumphed; and afterwards had no other design but to lead a delicate Life, free from the trouble of publick Affairs. There was nothing to be seen more wonderful than his Stoves, his Pictures, and Statues; and the most profuse Emperors had never so fine Gardens as he had. He cut thro' Mountains, and made prodigious Canals, near *Naples*, to bring the Water from the Sea into the Houses which he had built there, and to keep Fish in. It was for this that the *Stoick* Philosopher *Tubero*, called him the *Roman Xerxes*, or *Xerxes in a long Gown*, because he herein imitated *Xerxes* King of *Persia*, who had cut thro' the Mountain *Athos*, and made a Canal there for the passage of his Ships. A Pretor who was to give

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(*a*) Tigranocerta *some say, is that which is now called* Biblis; *others* Sultania. (*b*) *Some say this is now* Teflis *or* Revan, Erivan, *but this is uncertain.* (*c*) *It is now said to be called* Abesis *by those of the Country.*

give the People Plays, ask'd him, Whether he had Campagn Coats to lend him for the Shew that he was preparing? He told him that he would order ſearch to be made, whether there were any in his Wardrobe; and having ask'd the ſame Pretor, the next Day, how many Coats he wanted, and being anſwered that a hundred would be enough for him; *Lucullus* reply'd, he could furniſh him with two hundred, according to *Plutarch*; or five thouſand according to *Horace*. His Table, on which was ſerved nothing but in Gold and and Silver Diſhes, enriched with precious Stones, was anſwerable to the reſt; And *Cicero* and *Pompey* meeting him one Day in the *Forum*, and telling him that they ſhould be glad to Sup with him, on condition that he would have nothing extraordinary; he anſwered, that they would be very ill treated then, and it were better to put it off till to Morrow. They would not yield to it, nor permit him to ſpeak to his Servants in private, for fear leſt he ſhould give them ſomewhat more than was wont to be provided for himſelf. But he deſired them to give him leave at leaſt to tell them aloud in their preſence, *That he would Sup in* Apollo's *Hall*, which was all that they granted him. *Pompey* and *Cicero* could not imagine ſo great a Feaſt could have been prepared in ſo ſhort a time, not knowing that the expences of his Houſe were always limited for each Hall in which he eat, and that for this of *Apollo*, the expence of an Entertainment was fixed at 50000 drachms of Silver, or 5000 Crowns. A Slave whom he had made free, gave him ſomething in his Drink in hopes to make him love him yet more; but this draught diſordered his Mind to that degree, that his Brother *Marcus* had the adminiſtration of all his Affairs in quality of a Governor, and poſſibly his Death was haſten'd by this poiſon, ſeeing he died neither of old Age nor a Diſtemper.

Pompey, *who had been ſent in* Lucullus's *place, and was yet in the leſſer* Armenia, *gave Battle, by Moon light, to* Mithridates, *who was defeated, and his Camp*

Camp plunder'd by the Romans. 40000 *of the King's Army fell in this Battle.*

Tigranes *King of* Armenia *goes to* Pompey *in his Camp, falls on his Knees, and ſurrenders himſelf to him.* Pompey *takes from him* Syria, *which he had poſſeſſed eighteen Years,* Phenicia *and* Cilicia, *reſtores* Armenia *to him, and condemns him to pay* 3600000 *Crowns.*

3907 *The Poet* Horace *was born the 8th of* December *at* Venuſia *a City of* Apulia, *on the Frontiers of* Lucania, *in the Conſulſhip of* L. Cotta *and* L. Torquatus. 64

3909 Pompey *takes the City of* Jeruſalem *and the Temple; enters into the* Holy of Holys; *conſtitutes* Hircanus *High-Prieſt, and ſent his Brother* Ariſtobulus *to* Rome *bound in Chains. This was the firſt time the* Jews *became ſubject to the* Romans; *and it is obſerved in* Eutropius, *that* 12000 Jews *were killed at the taking of this City.* 61

Mithridates *King of* Pontus *and the leſſer* Armenia, *being beſieged by his Son* Pharnaces *who eſpouſed the* Roman *Intereſt, ended his life by poiſon. He maintained War with the* Romans 40 *Years.*

(a) What he took had no effect, becauſe he was always fortified againſt Poiſon by a remedy which he commonly made uſe of, and which from him had the name of *Mithridate.* He attempted to kill himſelf, but the Wound which he gave himſelf being not deep enough, it was finiſhed by a *Gaul* named *Bithuit, Bithoc* or *Bithetes.* Some ſay that he was killed by his own Soldiers, employed by *Pharnaces* to commit this Parricide,

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(a) *Vid.* Dio, *l.* 37. Liv. *l.* 107. Flor. *l.* 3. *c.* 5. Val. Max. *l.* 9. *c.* 2. Plin. *l.* 25. *c.* 2. Gell. *l.* 17. *c.* 17 Appian. *p.* 248. Aurel. *Vict. de* Viris *Illuſtribus.* Oroſ. *l.* 6. *c.* 5. *&* Mithridatem, *cur* Dionyſium Tralliani vocarent. *Muret Variar Lect. l.* 1. *c.* 2.

As for the 40 Years War which he maintain'd againſt the *Romans*, it hath been written by *Florus*, *Eutropius*, *Appian*, who hath ſome where made them 42. From the beginning of *Mithridates*'s War to his Death, there were but 26 Years. It is obſerved in *Pliny*, and after him, in *Solinus*, and *Gellius*, that *Mithridates* underſtood the 22 Languages of the 22 Nations that were ſubject to him; and that he could diſcourſe to them in all without an Interpreter.

3910 Julius Cæſar *is created High Prieſt.* 61

Cataline *is defeated with his Army by the Proconſul* C. Anthony, *who had been* Cicero's *Collegue in the Conſulſhip.*

P. Claudius *being accuſed of being in Women's Cloaths in a Temple, and abuſing* Pompeia, Q. Pompey's *Daughter, and* Cæſar's *Wife, is acquitted.*

3911 Pompey *ſubdues* Syria. 60

3912 Cæſar *employing all his Intereſt to obtain the Conſulſhip, and attempting to make himſelf Maſter of the Common-wealth, there was a conſpiracy formed betwixt Him,* Pompey, *and* M. Craſſus. 59

3913 Cæſar, *aged* 41 *Years, is made Conſul.* 58

Cicero *wrote to his Brother,* Q. Cicero, *a Letter, wherein he inſtructed him how he ought to govern* Aſia, *whither he had been ſent,* A. M. 3911. *This Letter is one of* Cicero's *Maſter-pieces.*

Titus Livy, *the Hiſtorian was born.*

3914 Cæſar *paſſes into* Gaul.

Cicero *is baniſhed by a Sentence of* P. Claudius, *a Tribune of the People, for having put to Death, in Priſon, and uncondemned, the Accomplices of* Cataline's *Conſpiracy.*

3915 *He was recalled from his Exile, by the Sollicitations of* Pompey, *and* T. Annius Milo. 56

The Poet Catullus *dies* 30 *Years old.* 54

3917 Cæſar *paſſeth the* Rhine *upon a Bridge.* 54

(a) *Dio Val. Max. l.* 1. *c.* 8. & Marcellin, *l.* 24.

War betwixt the Romans *and* Parthians.

3918 Julia, *the Daughter of* Cæsar, *and Wife of* Pompey, *dies. She was buried in* Campus Martius. 53
Julius Cæsar *makes* England *Tributary.*

3919 M. Crassus (a) *pillages the Temple of* Jerusalem. *On the 9th of* June, *in the same Year, he was slain by the* Parthians, *who poured melted Gold into his Mouth, thereby reproaching him with his great Avarice, even after his Death.*

Cassus was very rich, and yet more covetous than rich. Before he medled with publick Affairs, his whole Estate was worth but 180000 Crowns, which he increased to 4260000, before he made his Voyage into *Syria.* When *Sylla*, who was become Master of *Rome*, sold the Estates of those whom he put to death; *Crassus* bought good Penny-worths of what the other sold; and whereas the Houses were subject to fall, by reason of their too great number of Stories, he caused all those to be rebuilt by his Slaves, so that it is no wonder they said, that most of the Houses of *Rome* belong'd to him. After he had succeeded against the famous Gladiator, *Spartacus* of *Thrace*, who had the boldness, with an Army of Slaves, to make War on the *Romans*, and who was slain in a Battle, he had the Province of *Syria* by Lot; and did not only make sure of conquering it, altho' he was sixty Years old; but he was also perswaded that he should easily subdue the *Parthians.* In the mean time he perished in this War, with his Son, as you may read in *Plutarch.*

This Author saith, That he is assured *Orodes*, the King of the *Parthians*, was not at the Head of them, but the *Surenas*, which is a Name of Office or Dignity. *Zosimus* saith it expressly in the Life of *Julian*; and *Marcellinus*, who was with this Emperour in the Battel which he lost against *Schabur*, informs us, that the *Surenas* was in Power next the King. *Tacitus*, in the 6th Book of his Annals, gives us to understand what he must be, when he says that *Tiridates* received the Ensigns of Royalty from the Hands of the *Surenas*, according to the Custom practiced in *Persia.* *Plutarch* saith

ſaith more than theſe three Authors, for he adds, that he was inferiour only to the King in Quality, Riches, and Authority: That he had always 200 Chariots, and a 1000 Camels; and that he had at leaſt 10000 Men in his Family. But as the word *Surenas* is not to be met with in the *Perſian* Dictionaries, there is reaſon to believe that it is a corruption of ſome other word, becauſe the *Greeks* and *Latins* rejected as barbarous thoſe foreign Words, which were too hard to pronounce, and changed them, to accommodate them to the Genius and Character of their Tongue. Authors have furniſhed us with many inſtances of this; and without going out of *Perſia*, they have made *Aſhuerus*, of *Aſchir*; *Cambyſes* of *Cameſſia*; *Hyſtaſpes* of *Kiſchtasb* or *Guſhtaff*; *Arſaces* of *Aſchki*; *Narſes* of *Nors*; *Syroes* of *Schiruyah*; *Sapor* of *Schabur*; *Miſdates* and *Ormiſdates* of *Hormoz*; of *Hyroodis*, *Herodes*; *Orodes* of *Hordos*; *Varanes* of *Bahram* or *Varharam*; *Phraates* of *Baadi*; *Artabanus* of *Ardwan*. The ſame Authors have probably formed *Megabyſus* and *Megabaſus* of *Mgus Megiuſci*, or *Migiuſc*, which in *Perſian* ſignifies *the Prieſt of the Religion of the Worſhippers of Fire*, or *Ataſc-Paraſt*, for *Magia* was properly the Religion of thoſe that worſhipped Fire, as *Mahometiſm* is the Religiou of thoſe who are of the Sect of *Mahomet*. It might be alſo that *Surena*, which was an Appellative, became a proper name, as *Cirtha*, where King *Scyphax* kept his Court; becauſe *Cirtha* is the ſame with *Cartha* of the *Chaldeans*, *Keriath* of the *Hebrews*, i. e. a *City*. The *African's Cairoem*, the *Armenian's Tigranocerta*, the *Parthian's Vologeſocerta*, which ſignifies the *City of* Tigranes *and* Vologeſes, are of the ſame Original; as well as the *Egyptian's Caire* or *Al-Caira*, notwithſtanding an *Arabian* Hiſtorian hath written that they gave it the name of *Kaira* from the Planet of *Mars*, named in the *Arabick Al-kaher*, becauſe the Foundations of this City were laid when *Mars* was in his Aſcendant; and others derive it from *Cahara*, which ſignifies *Victory*.

Cæſar *the ſecond time paſſes the* Rhine *on a Bridge.*

3920 Pompey *is the third time Conſul, without any Colleague joined with him, which had never been done before.* 51

3922 *The Orator* Hortenſius, Cicero's *great Friend, died at the Age of* 64. 49

3223 *The Civil War of* Cæſar *and* Pompey, *ab V. C.* 704. 48

The firſt Dictatorſhip of Julius Cæſar.

3920 Pompey *is defeated by* Julius Cæſar *on the Plains of* Pharſalia *in* Theſſaly. 51

Pompey *after his defeat ſeeks a retreat with his Wife* Cornelia *and his Son* Sextus, *at the Court of* Ptolemy *King of* Egypt, *the Son of* Ptolemy *the* Piper, *and is aſſaſſinated at the age of* 58 *Years by the Kings order.*

Some from this defeat begin to reckon the fourth and laſt Monarchy, which is that of the Romans.

You may read in *Plutarch* the Life of *Pompey*, whom *Pliny* infinitely prefers to *Cæſar*, as to what regards the Service he did his Country. Indeed he forced *Lepidus* to ſteal out of *Italy*; defeated *Domitius* in *Africk*; *Sertorius* in *Spain*; reduced *Sicily* to its obedience, and reſtored *Maſiniſſa* to the poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. He vanquiſhed two Kings; took or ſunk 846 Ships of the Pirates; reduced 1538 Cities or Towns; put to flight, made Slaves, or ſlew 2183000 Men; ſubdued to the *Romans* all that Tract of Land from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*, and from the Black-Sea to the Red.

3925 Cæſar *the ſecond time obtained the Dictatorſhip which had been granted him the Year before.* 46

He made himſelf Maſter of Alexandria, *and ſubdued* Egypt. *The famous Library of* Alexandria *is burnt.*

3926 Pharnaces *King of* Pontus *is defeated by* Julius Cæſar. *The famous Library of* Alexandria *is burnt.*

Cæſar

(a) *l.* 7. *c.* 26 & 27.

Cæsar *after his Successes against* Cato, Scipio *and* Juba, *and making* Mauritania *Tributary to the* Romans, *triumphed four times at his return from* Africk.

He corrected the Roman *Calendar, which was reformed* An. Dom. 1582 *by Pope* Gregory XIII. *and whereas some still retain the former, thence arises the difference betwixt us and them, with regard to the dates of the Old or New Stile. The Date is of ten Days more or less.*

3927 Cæsar, *who had been the third time Dictator and Consul the Year before, is continued in both Offices.* 44

He defeated Pompey's *Sons near the City of* Munda *in* Spain, *which according to* Mariana *is now* old Munda, *situate on a little Hill three Leagues distant from* new Munda, *two from* Arunda, 20 *Miles from* Malaga.

Cneius Pompeius *fell in this Battel, and* Sextus Pompeius *retired into* Sicily, *thence into* Asia, *and was killed at* Miletus *by* Anthony's *Soldiers.*

Cæsar *after the defeat of* Pompey's *Sons triumphed the Fifth time.*

He committed his Will to the Vestals.

3928 Cassius *and* Brutus *conspire against* Cæsar's *Life.* 43

3929 Anthony *is vrnquished by* Octavius *in the War of* Modena. 42

Antipater *Father of* Herod, *surnamed the* Great *was poisoned by his Cup bearer, corrupted by* Malichus, *whom* Herod *caused to be killed by the Soldiers of* Cassius, *as may be seen in* Josephus. 42

The League of Anthony, Octavius Augustus *and* Lepidus. *Some place* Tibullus's *birth in this Year.*

Cicero, *aged* 64 *Years wanting* 26 *Days, is killed the 7th of* December, *and* Mark Anthony *made a present of* 20000 *Crowns to the Tribune* Cneius Popilius Lenas, *who brought him his Head. This was an unparallel'd piece of Ingratitude, since* Cicero

had (a) ſucceſsfully defended this Pompilius *who was accuſed of Parricide.*

Cicero's Nobility on the Father's ſide was diſputed, however his Mother *Helvia* was Noble, as may be ſeen in *Plutarch*. He had a marvellous diſpoſition for Study, and was eſteemed a prodigy of Wit. His firſt Poems acquired him great Reputation; but when there were afterwards Poets who excelled him, his Verſes made leſs noiſe than his Proſe. After his firſt Studies he was an Auditor of *Philo* the Academick Diſciple of *Carneades*; and ſtudied the Law under *Mutius Scævola* a Man of Buſineſs, and the moſt conſiderable of the Senate. He bore Arms againſt the *Marſi*, under the command of *Sylla*, but ſoon grew weary of that Trade, either out of horrour of the Civil Wars, or becauſe he did not feel in himſelf the moſt eſſential Quality of a Soldier. His Inclinations having called him to the Bar, he wholly applied himſelf to it, and it proved a fair Field of Glory to him. Some time after *Chryſogonus*, one of the Freed-men and Favourites of *Sylla*, who was powerful, having bought by the favour of his Maſter, the whole Eſtate of *Roſcius*, who was in the number of proſcrib'd Perſons, for 200 Crowns; *Roſcius* his Son and lawful Heir, complained of the wrong that was done him, becauſe this Eſtare was worth 150000 Crowns, or 250 Talents. *Sylla* ſenſible enough of this viſible injuſtice, to ſupport it however, in favour of *Chryſogonus*, he inſpired him with the confidence to affirm that *Roſcius* murdered his own Father. This innocent Perſon was to be defended againſt this black Calumny, but there was

(*u*) M. Cicero C. Popiliam Lenatem *Picenæ regionis, rogatu* M. Cælii *non minore cura quam Eloquentia; Eamque cauſa admodum dubia fluctuantem, ſalvum ad ſuos penates remiſit. Hic* Popilius *poſtea nec re nec verbo a* Cicerone *læſus; ultro* M. Antonium *rogavit, ut ad illum proſcriptum perſequendum & jugulandum mitteretur, &c. Sic & reliqui: ſolus* Plutarchus *homicidium hoc Herennio Centurioni adtribuit Colerus.*

was none to be found who durſt undertake it, out of fear of *Sylla*'s Cruelty. This young Man ſeeing himſelf abandoned by the moſt famous Advocates who pitied him, had recourſe to *Cicero*, who undertook to protect him by the Counſel of his Friends, who told him that he had an opportunity given him to make himſelf beloved of all the World. *A. M.* 3892 the 673 Year of *Rome*, being 27 Years old, he pleaded the Cauſe of *Roſcius* with ſo great force, and with ſuch applauſe and ſucceſs, that he carried it without any difficulty. But to avoid *Sylla*'s revenge, he was adviſed to retire, and go into *Greece*. He dwelt ſix Months at *Athens*; went to *Rhodes*, and much improved his Voice and his Mind in his Voyage, with *Antiochus* of *Aſcalon*, with *Xenocles* of *Adramyttium* a City of *Myſia*, with *Dionyſius*, *Menippus*, *Molo*, and the Philoſopher *Poſſidonius*, who unanimouſly acknowledged, that they knew none that excelled him in Eloquence. In 3895 having intelligence of *Sylla*'s death, he haſtened to *Rome*, where he was admired by all who heard him, and as he ſtood for ſome Offices, he obtained that of Treaſurer of *Sicily*, in which he worthily acquitted himſelf. In 3903 he was *Ædilis Curulis*; and in 3906 Pretor. In 3908 he obtained the Conſulſhip, altho' he had *Catiline* for his Competitor, whoſe Conſpiracy he diſcovered. He was then 44 Years old: And as *Cæſar* was by no means his Friend, he ſet *Clodius* the Tribune of the People upon him, who in 3914 condemned him to be baniſhed, becauſe in his Conſulſhip, he had put to Death, in Priſon, thoſe who were in the Conſpiracy with *Catiline* uncondemned. In 3915 he was recalled from Baniſhment upon the Sollicitation of *Milo* and *Pompey*; and 3921 he was Proconſul in *Cilicia*. He left this Province the thirtieth of *July* the following Year; arrived the 14*th* of *October* at *Athens*, and the 4*th* of *January* at *Rome*. In 3928 he preſſed *Octavius Auguſtus* to take Arms againſt *Anthony*, which was his ruin; for he was killed by the command of the latter, the 7*th* of *December* 3929 at the age of 64 Years wanting 26 Days, 42 Years before the birth of Jeſus Chriſt.

Cicero was undoubtedly the moſt Eloquent, and it may be, the moſt learned too of all the *Romans*, altho' this may have been ſaid of *Varro*; but ſo full of his own Merit, that he had no greater pleaſure than to Praiſe himſelf, or to be praiſed by others. He pretended to fine Raillery, but he was not always happy in his Jeſts; he was inconſtant and irreſolute in his Undertakings; aſſuming and inſolent in good Fortune; reſtleſs and impatient in bad; timorous and a Coward in danger, and an exceſſive Bragadochio when there was nothing to fear. *Demoſthenes* and he were of a very different Character, for the former was neither gay nor pleaſant in his Stile, which was conciſe, natural and ſtrong, and which ſtruck home; his Countenance never diſſembled his Temper, which was ſevere, ſhagreen, and even ſad; he ſaid nothing that was ſuperfluous; was modeſt, and rarely boaſted of himſelf: On the contrary, *Cicero* always found ſome occaſion to boaſt of himſelf, ſo much as to be troubleſome in Company, and in the Senate; ſought for Praiſe as a debt, which he demanded to be paid; had a florid, copious Stile, and which was ſometimes even *Aſiatick*; affected the reputation of a witty Jeſter; but oftentimes his Jeſts were very low.

3930 *After the defeat of* Caſſius, Cæſar Auguſtus *returned into* Italy; Antony *paſſed into* Aſia. 41

Antony *gave not audience to the* Jewiſh *Envoys who were deputed to accuſe* Phaſelus *and* Herod.

Hircanus *who gave a Gold Crown to* Mark Antony, *obtained an Edict of him, that the Lands which had been taken from the* Jews *ſhould be reſtored to them, and the Captives ſent home.*

3932 *The City of* Perouze *is burnt, ſeveral Senators and Knights are ſacrificed at the Altar which was conſecrated to* Julius Cæſar. 39

After the Death of Fulvia, Antony's *Wife*, Auguſtus *and* Antony, *who were reconciled, divided the Empire, and engaged to one another to purſue* Sextus Pompeius, *notwithſtanding* Antony *was before*

fore obliged to the latter to enter into a War with him againſt Cæſar. *Dio.*

Herod *is eſtabliſhed at* Rome, *and crowned King of* Jeruſalem. *He reigned* 40 *Years.*

3934 Antony *ſends ſome Legions to* Herod *to aſſiſt him in the Siege of* Jeruſalem. 37

3935 *This Year, or the Year following,* Antony *beheaded at* Antioch, Antigonus, *the laſt King of the* Aſmonæan *race (a).* 36

3940 Pomponius Atticus *dyes* 77 *Years old, the* 31*ſt of* March, *in the* 721 *Year of* Rome. 31

Italy never had a better Man than *Titus Pomponius Atticus,* who ſatisfied with his Birth aud Fortune, ſought at *Athens* that repoſe which he could not in any likelihood promiſe himſelf at *Rome,* where his Kinſman *P. Sulpicius,* Tribune of the People had been murdered, and where the Factions of *Cinna* and *Sylla* divided all Families at that time. He was extremely beloved by the *Athenians,* whom he always ſerved with his Intereſt and his Money, obliged by his Bounty, and aſſiſted with his Counſel in their moſt important Affairs. As he was an Enemy to Pride, he would not ſuffer them to erect any Statues to him, and refuſed the Freedom of their City, which they offered him, becauſe he was a *Roman* Citizen, and muſt have loſt this Privilege if he had taken the other. When the diſorders of *Rome* were compoſed, he returned thither in the Conſulſhip of *L. Cotta* and *L. Torquatus,* where he ſo eaſily accomodated himſelf to the Humour of *Q. Cæcilius,* a *Roman* Knight, which was very difficult and troubleſome, that when the latter died, having firſt adopted him, he left him three parts of his Eſtate, which amounted to a hundred thouſand times a hundred thouſand *Seſterces.* He gave his Siſter *Pomponia* in Marriage to *Quintus* the Brother of *Marcus Cicero,* who made this match, and maintained with this latter and with *Hortenſius,* one of the moſt eloquent Men of his Age, a Friendſhip which laſted as long as their lives.

It

(a) Joſeph. *l.* 1. *of the Wars of the* Jews, *ch.*13.

It was also by his means and Counsel, that these two great Men, who pretended to the same Glory at the Bar, lived so friendly in their competition, that there was neither private hatred, jealousie, nor grudge betwixt them. It was much for his Reputation, that he engaged not in the Civil Wars of the Common-wealth, well knowing that those who embark'd themselves therein, either by Chance or Passion, were even as little Masters of themselves, as those who were carried away by a Tempest in an open Sea. Altho' his Interest, Reputation, Riches and Quality might have procured him the greatest Places, he never designed to put in for them, because he must bribe the People with his Money, and because it was dangerous to acquit himself therein like an honest Man. He also refused the Pretorship that was offered him; and his Conduct was such, that he was never concerned in a Civil or a Criminal Process at Law.

As he was 60 Years old when *Cæsar* began the Civil War, he made use of his Age as a pretence to continue quiet at *Rome*, without espousing the Interests either of *Pompey* or *Cæsar*; and after the Death of the latter, *Marcus Brutus*, who was look'd on as the Deliverer of the Common-wealth, had so great an esteem for *Atticus*, that he consulted him as his Oracle, for the conduct of his Life. The Face of Affairs being changed, and *Mark Anthony* having reassumed his former Authority, *Atticus*, who never offered himself to *Brutus*, whilst he was so powerful at *Rome*, assisted him with Money, when he quitted *Italy*, and was abandoned by all. When *Antony* was defeated before *Modena*, and they were for destroying him with his Wife *Fulvia*, his Children, and his Friends, he served *Fulvia* in all the Processes in which she was embarassed; became Surety in all her Debts, and also furnished her with Money to pay for an Estate which she had bought in her Husband's Prosperity. *Antony* being now the most powerful, *Atticus*, who gloried in being the Friend of *Brutus* and *Cicero*, thought it necessary to conceal himself, knowing that the *Triumviri* approached *Rome*, and not doubting but he should be in the num-

number of thoſe whom they proſcribed. But *Antony* was no ſooner acquainted with his retreat, but he wrote to him, and aſſured him that he ſhould be ſafe, as alſo *Q. Gellius Canius*, whoſe pardon he had ask'd. In this condition he did his utmoſt for thoſe who were threatned by the Storm, and ſpared nothing to divert it from them. All theſe excellent Qualities gained him ſo great a reputation, that *Marcus Vipſanius Agrippa*, who was then *Auguſtus*'s Favourite, and might for this Reaſon, as well as for his own Merit, pretend to the greateſt match in *Rome*, choſe him for his Father-in-law; and 'its certain *Mark Anthony* contributed to it. By this means, and without ever deſigning it, he became Ally'd to the *Cæſars*; for *Agrippa* had by this Wife a Daughter, *Vipſania Agrippina*, who by *Auguſtus*'s Order was contracted to his Son-in-Law, *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, altho' ſhe was no more then a Year old. It is next to a Prodigy, that *Atticus* maintained a cloſe Correſpondence with *Pompey* and with *Sylla* as well as with *Cicero* and with *Brutus*, with *Antony* and with *Auguſtus*; and that all of them knew it, and never ſhewed the leaſt coldneſs to him for it. But it is true, that they alſo knew him to be a Man that could not be corrupted by Intereſt, nor tempted by Honours; who hated lying, treachery and ingratitude; who was never unfaithful to his Friends; and who had no Paſſion but for his own and the Common-wealths Peace. After his Riches were very much increaſed by his ſucceſſion to the Eſtate of his Uncle, and ſome others, who made him their Heir, he neither augmented his Train nor his Expences; and inſtead of keeping Muſicians, he had youths born and educated in his Houſe, who uſed to read to him at his Meals, when he was alone or in Company. His Table, which was the Rendevouz of Knights and Perſons of Quality of all Degrees, was handſom rather than magnificent; his Furniture was more decent than ſplendid, and nothing was to be ſeen in his Houſe that look'd like Prodigality or Avarice.

As

As Poetry is a ſort of diverſion for thoſe who meddle with it, he thought that he ought not to deny himſelf ſo agreeable a Pleaſure. He confined within four or five Verſes, the Employments and Actions of thoſe Citizens, who had raiſed themſelves by their Merit, and put them under the Pictures of theſe great Men. He compoſed a Hiſtory of the Magiſtrates; a Genealogical Hiſtory of the *Junij*, at the requeſt of *Marcus Brutus*; of the *Marcelli* upon the Solliciation of *Claudius Marcellus*; of the *Cornelij*; the *Fabij*; the *Æmilij*, which *Cornelius Scipio*, and *Fabius Maximus* prevailed with him to undertake; and whilſt he was in *Greece*, he wrote a Book of the *Conſulſhip of* Cicero. At the age of 77 Years, as I have ſaid, he fell ſick of a troubleſome ſharp Dyſentery (altho' he had lived thirty Years without any need of a Phyſician) and paſſed three Months in the uſe of Medicines; but as they only increaſed his Diſeaſe, which fell into an Inteſtine, and made an Ulcer in his Reins, he reſolved to eat no more, becauſe the Food which he took rather irritated than aſſwaged his Pains. Five Days after this reſolution, from which *Agrippa* his Father-in-law, *Cornelius Balbus* and *Sextus Peducæus* his intimate Friends, were not able to remove him, he died lamented by all People.

CHAP. IV.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

Caius Julius Cæſar, the Son of *Caius Julius Cæſar* and of *Aurelia* the Daughter of *Aurelius Cotta* of the Family of the *Aurelij*, was born under the Sign of *Sagittarius*, the 12*th* Day of the Month, which from him is called *July*, in the ſixth Conſulſhip of *Caius Marius* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, A. M. 3872. *ab V. C.* 653, and 90 Years before the birth of Jeſus Chriſt. He lived

56 Years, and reigned three Years, four Months, ſix Days, after he was declared *perpetual Dictator.*

By his Aunt *Julia*'s ſide, who was the Daughter of *Martia*, and Wife of *Caius Marius*, he was of the Family of the *Martij*, who deſcended from *Ancus Martius* the fourth King of the *Romans*; and by his Father's, *Julius Cæſar*'s ſide, he derived his Pedigree from *Julus*, *Ilus*, or *Aſcanius* the Son of *Æneas*.

As for the name of (*a*) *Cæſar*, which was given to the firſt of this Family, it is derived from a Greek Word according to ſome, becauſe he had *thick* or *long* Hair. Others derive it from a *Syriack* Word which ſignifieth a Buckler, becauſe he was, as it were, the *Buckler* and *Defence* of the Soldiers which he commanded; and in the *Targum* of *Jonathan*, the Word *Ceſira* is uſed for a *Buckler*. Some Authors ſay, that it deſcended by a ſucceſſion in this Family, from him to whom they gave the name of *Cæſar*, upon the account of the *Elephant* which he killed in *Africk*; and it is true, that in the Language of the *Moors*, according to *Spartianus*, or in the *Punick*, according to *Servius* and *Conſtantine Manaſſes*, *Cæſa*, *Cæſai* or *Cæſar*, ſignifieth an *Elephant*. So that there is no reaſon to wonder that an Elephant is repreſented on the reverſe of ſome of this Emperor's Medals; that in others they have put *Æneas* carrying his Father on his Shoulders, the *Palladium* in his Hand, and little *Julus* before him. It is for the ſame Reaſon, that in ſome is to be ſeen alſo a *Venus Victrix*, a *Venus Genitrix*; that himſelf ſacrificed to this Goddeſs; and that in the *Circenſian Games*, the Statue of this Dictator, accompanied with the Star of *Venus*, was ſolemnly carried into *Jupiter*'s Temple and conſecrated there. It is alſo obſerved in *Dio*, that he uſed an armed *Venus* for the Stamp of his Seal.

Theſe laſt Obſervations may be true; but he deſcended from *Æneas*, as the *French* are deſcended from *Francus* of *Troy*; and the *Britons* from *Brutus*, or *Britus*

(*a*) *Vid.* G. Jo. Voſſ. *in Etymolog.* L. L. *voce* Cæſones.

tus the Grandſon of *Æneas*, baniſhed from the Kingdom of the *Latins* for killing his Father *Sylvius*.

He was in his Childhood educated by his Mother *Aurelia*; and it is certain that this Lady, who was eminent for her Wit, and the Qualities of her Mind, never inſpired him with any thing which was not worthy of her Virtue. He had four Wives; *Coſſutia* who was very Rich; *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Cornelius Cinna*, who had been four times Conſul; *Pompeia* the Daughter of *Q. Pompeius*, and *Calpurnia* the Daughter of *Lucius Piſo*. He divorced the firſt when he was but 17 Years old; by the ſecond he had a Daughter named *Julia*, who was *Cneius Pompey*'s firſt Wife; he took the Death of *Cornelia* very heavily, and himſelf made her Funeral Oration. As *Pompeia* was none of the Chaſteſt, and *Publius Clodius*, had diſguiſed himſelf to viſit her in a Temple, into which it was not lawful for Men to enter; *Cæſar* (without accuſing *Clodius*, whoſe Authority might have skreened the Sacrilege from Puniſhment) contented himſelf gently to divorce her; adding, *That it was not ſufficient for him that ſhe was without fault; but that ſhe ought not to be ſuſpected.* *Calpurnia* out-lived him, and by a publick Oration, ſhe ſhewed that ſhe deſerved to be the Wife of ſo great a Man; notwithſtanding what *Appian* hath been able to ſay, who muſt have miſtaken her for another, when he took her for an Adultereſs; he hath indeed miſtaken *Calpurnia* for *Pompeia*.

He had an Oval Face, a ſmooth Forehead, an Eagles Noſe, black and ſparkling Eyes, thick Lips, a fair and delicate Complexion, the forepart of his Head bald. He was tall in Stature, his Conſtitution which was naturally weak, he had made ſtrong and hardy by Exerciſe. His Humour was Complaiſant and diverting, his Converſation charming, his Voice ſtrong, his meen agreeable and noble. He was ſober, ſplendid, neat, courteous and humble; not much ſuperſtitious in what regarded the eſtabliſhed Religion; eaſie with his Friends; diligent in his Marches, exact in his Military Diſcipline, reſolute in his undertakings, indefatigable in his Labours, undaunted in Danger; ſo good a Horſeman that he could

rids

ride full ſpeed upright and unſhaken, with his Hands acroſs behind him. He marched often a foot bare headed before his Troops, fearing neither Sun nor Rain; and to receive or carry important News (whereof there was otherwiſe but ſlow conveyance) he ſwam over the moſt rapid and largeſt Rivers. Some have made him lean, as *Plutarch*, others have given him Fleſh enough as *Suetonius*; and it is probable that the firſt is miſtaken, ſeeing *Cæſar* according to *Suetonius*, was the moſt beautiful Perſon in *Rome*, and leanneſs and beauty don't well agree together. It is true however, that diſquiet, fatigues, and the ſecret ambition which prey'd upon him waſted much of his Fleſh, ſo that his Cheeks grew hollow, and his Forehead became furrowed. In the latter Years of his Life, he was ſubject to Swoonings, and to the Head-ach; and it is alſo ſaid, that he had two or three fits of the Falling-ſickneſs.

He eat indifferently of what was ſerved up at his Table; and it is likely that *Cato*, who loved Wine a little, was not faſting, or at leaſt was in a Paſſion, when he taxed him with Drunkenneſs in a full Senate, for giving him a *Billet Doux* which his Siſter *Servilia* had written him. It is certain that the ſame *Cato* ſpeaking of *Cæſar*, wondred that the moſt ſober of all the *Romans* had conſented to ruin all the Commonwealth.

He was not obſerved to be ſo indifferent about his Perſon, nor about his Clothes; and he was not contented to be ſhaved, but he alſo pulled out the Hair by the Root with Pincers, which are uſed at this Day for the ſame purpoſe. He wore a *Laticlaviat* Gown, which uſed to be worn by Knights and Senators Sons; but the Sleeves of his came down to his Hands, and it was plaited or fringed at the bottom. Altho' he never wore it without a Girdle, it was yet ſo looſe, contrary to the Faſhion, that *Sylla* forbore not to ſay to *Pompey*, *That he ought to beware of the ill-girt Youth.* The Words in *Latine* make a *Pun*, for ill-girt ſignifies a Man *who wears his Girdle looſe*, and it ſignifies alſo *a bad Soldier*, which made *Cicero* ſay, after the Battle of *Pharſalia*, *That he never believed that a Man ſo*

ill-

ill-girt could have beaten Pompey. But *Sylla* ought to have judged otherwiſe of him. His Shoes were commonly red as thoſe which the Kings of *Alba*, his Anceſtors, and the greateſt Perſons of *Rome*, in their Triumphs and Solemnities were wont to wear. He was not only neat but magnificent in his Houſe, and had little Squares of Marble carried to pave his Tent. We may judge of his curioſity by the number of his Statues, Medals, Furniture and Jewels which he had; and ſome ſay that he deſired to conquer *England*, only in hopes to find there vaſt quantities of Pearls.

Had he not ſo ſoon left the Bar, where he was admired from the beginning, he might have diſputed with *Cicero* the Prize and Glory of Eloquence, which he placed principally in the choice of Words; and indeed his Eloquence was ſuch, that he always ſpake in publick with the ſame force with which he fought. He wrote, read, gave audience and dictated all at once; dictated to four ſeveral Perſons, nay to ſeven, as Pliny ſaith, on different and important Subjects. He hath related under the title of *Commentaries* his Actions among the *Gauls*; compoſed two Books of *Analogy*; 2 *Anti Catones*; a Poem intituled *The Way*; ſome Treatiſes of *Divination*, of *Aſtrology* and of *Preſages*. In the firſt heat of his Youth, he made a Collection of *Sentences* or *remarkable Sayings*; he wrote the Tragedy of *Oedipus*, and the *Praiſes of* Hercules; but when *Auguſtus* came to the Empire, he gave order to his Library-keeper to ſuppreſs them. After the Civil Wars were ended, he compoſed the *Faſti*, or the *Calendar*; added ten Days and more to the Year which *Numa* had made to conſiſt of 12 Lunar Months, *i. e.* of 355 Days; he made it to conſiſt of 365 Days and ſix Hours compleat, reſerving the ſix Hours to the end of every fourth Year, to make one entire Day of them, which he placed before the 6th of the Calends of *March*; ſo the Year which conſiſted of 366 Days was called *Biſſextile*, becauſe the ſixth of the Calends of *March* was twice reckoned in it; and this Account was alſo called the *Julian Year*, from *Julius Cæſar* the Author of it.

His

His first Actions in *Asia*, under the command of the Prætor *M.* (*a*) *Thermus*, what he performed at the Siege of *Mitylene*, which gained him a Civick Crown, were the effects of an extraordinary Courage; and all his other Actions sufficiently prove that he was born for great things. To avoid the wrath of *Sylla*, who was the most powerful Person of the Common-wealth, and feared him tho' but Young (*because*, as he said, *he had many Marius's in him*) and who designed to destroy him, he went from *Rome*, where he saw there was no longer safety for him. From thence he went into the *Sabine*'s Country, where he was met by some of *Sylla*'s Soldiers; and their Commander whom he sweetned by some Promises, and 1000 Crowns which he gave him in Hand saved his Life. Having escaped so great a danger, he fled into *Bithynia* to the Court of *Nicomedes* IV. the Son of *Nicomedes* surnamed *Philopator*; and it is said that he had a complaisance for him, which was natural enough to him, of which I shall speak in some other place. After he had spent some time in *Bithynia*, he embarked, and as he came before *Pharmacusa* (*b*), he was taken by some Pirates of *Cilicia* (*c*), who demanded 12000 Crowns of him for his Ransom; and he immediately promised them 30000, to let them see that they understood not the value of their Prize. He was near 40 Days in their hands; and as long as he was with them, he made them serve him in the same manner as if they had served their Master; he forbid them to make a noise, when he had a Mind to sleep, or write; called them sometimes Barbarians, and threatned to hang them. Altho' these Pirates did but laugh at his Affronts and his Menaces, he had no sooner paid them the Ransom that was agreed

(*a*) *Quo tempore primum Prætores creati fuerint* Alexander *ab* Alexandro *Dier Genial. l.* 2. *c.* 15. (*b*) Pharmacusæ *duæ prope Salamina.* Steph. *Est etiam alia supra* Miletum, *de qua* Plutarch. Suet. *in* Julio Cæsare, *c.* 4. *Huc* Rhodum *dum hibernis jam mensibus trajicit circa* Pharmacusam *insulam, a Prædonibus captus est. It is at this Day called* Farmuco *&* parmosa. (*c*) Cilicia *is the Eastern part of* Caramania, *a Province of the lesser* Asia.

on, and got his Liberty, but without delay he went againſt them with Ships that he had got armed at *Miletus*; he ſurpriz'd them, and hanged them in the City of *Pergamus*, after he had ſeized their Booty.

His Friends ſometime after adviſed him to return to *Rome*, becauſe *Sylla*'s Authority declined there; but he choſe rather to go to *Rhodes*, there to hear *Apollonius*, the Son of *Molo*, whom *Cicero* himſelf had for his Maſter in Rhetorick and Eloquence. He paſſed from *Rhodes* to *Rome*, where his Expences were prodigious, and where by his Civility and Generous way of living, he gained the Eſteem and Affections of all thoſe People who were capable of advancing him to the higheſt Offices of the Common-wealth. He firſt carried that of Tribune from *Caius Pompilius*; immediately after that of Treaſurer, (*a*) and he gave a bloody Combat of 640 Gladiators, when he was *Ædile*. But he added to this Shew a great many others, which had never been ſeen in *Italy* with ſuch Splendour; and with his Games and Feaſts, he ſo charmed the People of *Rome*, that they were wholly taken up in admiring him, and ſeeking every Day to give him new Offices for the defraying his Charges.

When the (*b*) *High-Prieſt*'s Office became vacant by *Marcellus*'s Death, and *Iſauricus* and *Catulus*, who were in all reſpects conſiderable Perſons, were Candidates for it, he ventured to ſtand with them for it. On the Election Day, he ſaid to his Mother *Aurelia*, who conducted him with Tears in her Eyes to her Palace-Gate, *You will either ſee me to Day baniſhed* Rome, *or you will ſee me High-Prieſt*. He carried it from the other two who ſtood againſt him; and after having been made High-Prieſt, he was Prætor, and then Governour of *Spain*. But he found himſelf embarraſſed, becauſe the greateſt part of his Creditors preſſed

(*a*) *Qui Quæſtores* Romæ, *quot fuerint, qualiſque poteſtas, & munus erat, aut juriſdictio*: Alexander *ab* Alexandro *Dier. Genial. l.* 2. *c.* 2. (*b*) *Quot* Romæ *Pontifices, quodve Officium &c. Idem Dier. Genial. l.* 2. *c.* 8.

preſſed him hard to pay his Debts. And as it was almoſt impoſſible either to put them off, or to ſatisfie them, he had recourſe to *Marcus Craſſus*, who to content the moſt importunate, anſwered 480000 Crowns for him. Being in *Spain*, he raiſed Troops to join thoſe which he found there: And he had no ſooner made up a Body of them, but he attacked thoſe of *Galicia* and *Portugal*, and was ſo ſucceſsful, that he reduced under the Obedience of the *Romans*, Nations which had ever refuſed to acknowledge them. And he not only performed on this occaſion, all that a great Captain could do, but alſo acted like a great Politician, for he eſtabliſhed a perfect Correſpondence betwixt the Cities which were of ſeparate Intereſts; he reconciled all the Differences of particular Perſons, ſparing no Civility or Complaiſance to make himſelf beloved; and by accommodating his own Affairs, thereby alſo enriched all the Soldiers, who ſaluted him with the Title of Emperour.

The Service he had done the Common-wealth, highly deſerved the Honour of a Triumph; but whereas all who aſpired to this Honour, were to ſtay without the City, and all that ſtood to be Conſuls, which they were now going to chuſe, ought to be preſent, he entred *Rome* to make his advantage of this occaſion. As ſoon as he came, he made *Craſſus* and *Pompey* Friends, who had openly broke, and who afterwards conducted him to the Aſſembly, where they got him to be choſen Conſul, together with *Calpurnius Bibulus*, whom he afterwards expelled, and who medled ſo little with Affairs, that inſtead of ſaying that a thing was done *under the Conſulſhip of* Cæſar *and* Bibulus, they ſaid it was done *under the Conſulſhip of* Julius *and* Cæſar. By the reconciliation of theſe two great Men, which was an effect of his Politicks, he became their Maſter. To puſh things farther, he gave his Daughter *Julia*, who had been promiſed to *Servilius Cepio*, in marriage to *Pompey*, and that he might not break with the former, he procured for him *Pompey*'s Daughter, who had been promiſed to *Fauſtus Sylla*'s Son. He afterwards married *Calpurnia*, the Daughter of *Piſo*, whom

he had designed his Successour in the Consulship; and by *Pompey*'s Authority he was declared Governour of *Sclavonia* and the *Gauls*.

It was in the *Gauls* that he principally signalized himself, and without descending to the particulars of his Actions, it is sufficient to say that he fought there 30 Battels; took 800 Cities, according to *Plutarch*: That he subdued 300 Nations, nay 400, according to *Appian*, that of Three Millions of armed Men, which he engaged with at several times, he took One million of them Prisoners, and left as many dead on the Fields of Battel; and *Pliny* reckons near 1292000, After this he sailed into *England*, to conquer it, which before that time was unknown to the *Romans*.

After these Victories, he demanded that they would continue the Consulship to him, altho' he was absent; and it may be he had been much less to be feared, had they complyed with his demand. But *Claudius Marcellus* vigorously opposed his Designs, and they would have deprived him of his Government. *Pompey* had raised new Soldiers; and *Cæsar* was much pressed to disband his Army. *Cato* threatned to call him to an account as a Criminal, after this disbanding; and all the Intrigues and Remonstrances of the Tribunes were ineffectual. When he saw that all his Proposals of Accommodation were slighted: That they had declared open War against him, he went to Head his Troops near the *Rubicon*, and made them pass this River, after he had said, *That the Die was cast, and he was going whither his Enemies forc'd him to go.* The *Rubicon*, which separated the *Cisalpine Gauls* from the rest of *Italy*, is at this Day named *Rugon* towards its Head; lower, *Pisetello*; and towards its Mouth, *Fiumesino*, from a little River that joins it.

Having in 60 Days made himself Master of *Italy*, he went towards the Coast of the *Adriatick*-Sea, directly to (a) *Brundusium*, whither the Consuls had retired with *Pompey*, in order to go into *Greece*, and he did his utmost to oppose their Design. But being not able

(a) *Now* Brindisi.

able to hinder it, he reſolved to go into *Spain*, that he might reduce thoſe whom *Pompey* commanded there by his Lieutenants; adding, *That he was going to fight an Army without a General, and that afterwards he would go to attack a General without an Army.* He was as good as his Word; for he had no ſooner conquered them, but he marched towards *Pompey*. He defeated him in the Plains of *Pharſalia*, purſued him into *Egypt*, and finding him murthered there, he turned his Armes againſt *Ptolemy*, and made himſelf Maſter of all his Kingdom. From *Alexandria* he went ſoon after into *Syria*, thence into the Kingdom of *Pontus*, where on the 5th Day after his arrival, he defeated *Pharnaces*, *Mithridates*'s Son, who had driven away *Domitius*, taken *Bithynia*, and *Cappadocia*, and was juſt ready to ſeize on the leſſer *Armenia*. He returned into *Africk*, where *Scipio*, *Afranius*, and *Juba*, had refreſhed the Troops they had drawn together; he forced three Camps in one Day, loſt but Fifty Men in doing it, and left 50000 of his Enemies dead on the Spot. To make the beſt uſe of this advantage, he ſo cloſely purſued thoſe, who had ſaved themſelves by Flight, that King *Juba*, who was accompanied by *Petreius* in his Misfortune, prayed him to kill him, which was done; (a) That *Scipio* run his Sword through his own Body; and *Cato* did the ſame afterwards at *Utica*.

In his 4th Conſulſhip, he made an Expedition into *Spain* againſt the *Pompey*'s, who were young, had Conrage, and a very conſiderable Army. In the greateſt Battel which he fought with them, he was in danger; and ſeeing his Men in diſorder, he ran to them, crying out, *Whether they were not aſhamed to be beaten, and to deliver him to Boys.* In the mean time he put himſelf now amongſt ſome, and then amongſt others of his Troops, and altho' the Enemy made an obſtinate reſiſtance, he killed above 30000 of them on the Spot, but ſaid afterwards, *That he had often fought for Victory, but at that time he fought for his Life.* The younger of the two *Pompey*'s, had the good Fortune to ſave

(a) *Val. Max. l.* 3. *c.* 2. *Ex.* 14.

his Life. The Head of the other was some time after brought to *Cæsar*, who at last saw the civil Wars ended, and his Hopes crowned by this Defeat.

Never had a Man a greater Passion for Glory than he; and he sufficiently discovered this at the sight of *Alexander*'s Statue at *Cadix*, in his Government of the farther *Spain*, *i. e.* of *Andalusia*, and *Portugal*, where he sighed being ashamed and under confusion, that he had done nothing yet, and *Alexander* at the same Age had subdued so many Provinces and Kingdoms. But he was able a while after to behold himself above him; and it may be allowed him, if we examine him in his Diligence, in his Address, in his Conduct, if we consider that he fought above 50 pitcht Battels, that he fought with the most formidable Nations: That he was never beaten by his Enemies: That on the contrary, he attackt. defeated, and vanquished them, altho' he was always the weakest in Numbers.

He valued his Soldiers more for their Hardiness and their Strength, than for their Riches and their Birth; and altho' he sometimes over-looked their Faults, he never pardoned those who raised the least Sedition in the Camp, or who deserted their Colours. To keep them always in breath, he never failed to exercise them: And if they represented the Enemies Army powerful, and expressed any astonishment at the News, he still made it greater, to animate them with the hopes of greater Glory and Spoil. He took this course on several occasions: And he was no sooner informed that *Juba*'s Army frighted them, but he caused them all to be drawn up, and he presently acquainted them, that they would soon see this King followed with ten Legions, 30000 Horse, a 100000 Soldiers Light-armed, and 300 Elephants. *That if any durst doubt of it, he would cause them to be put in an old Vessel, to be driven whither the Winds and Waves should carry them.* He never made a Speech to them, but he gave them the Title of *Fellow-Soldiers*: And he took so great care to keep them neat, that he gave them Arms that glittered with Gold and Silver, to oblige them the better to defend them as often as they fought.

That

That which was moſt wonderful and ſurprizing, is, that whereſoever there was Danger, he was always the foremoſt, that he never complained of Fatigue, tho' he ſlept moſt Nights in a Chariot, or at moſt in a Litter, and ſpent the whole Day in Action. He had Praiſes and Careſſes for all thoſe who acquitted themſelves well of their Duty, never did them Injuſtice, gave them even beyond their Hopes, and ſeemed to make War only for their ſafety. It cannot be denied but that he loved them tenderly, inſomuch, that his Lieutenants *Cotta* and *Titurius*, having been ſlain in *Gaul*, with the Troops under their command, by the Rebels, of which *Ambiorix* was the Leader, he let his Beard and Hair grow, and would not be trimmed till he had taken the full revenge which he had promiſed. Indeed, tho' he had but 6000 Men with him, and there were no leſs than 60000 of the Rebels, he employed ſuch Stratagems againſt them, that having ſurprized them one Day in diſorder, he cut off part of them, and put the reſt to Flight. Thoſe who followed the rebellion of the People of *Liege*, met with no better Fate; for *Cæſar*, after he had burnt all their open Countrey, deſtroyed their Cities and Fortreſſes, forced them to fly with their King to *Alexia*, now *Aliſa*, in *Burgundy*. To judge of things by appearances, this City (which was very ſtrong, and by the heigth of its Walls, and 70000 Men within to defend it) could not be taken almoſt without a Miracle. The Hiſtory adds, that an Army of 300000 Men march'd to attack him as he lay before the Place, and as he was hemm'd in behind and before, e'er he was aware of it, he fortified himſelf with two Walls, one againſt thoſe in *Alexia*, the other againſt the Army, whoſe Numbers, in all probability, muſt have over-powered him. Having by theſe means prevented the conjunction of theſe two Bodies, he choſe his time to attack theſe 300000 Men; whom he defeated, neither the Soldiers who guarded the Wall againſt the City, nor the Beſieged, who expected not theſe great Succours, perceiving any thing of it. After a Victory of this importance, which the Beſieged came to know by the ſight of the Tents, the Bucklers,

the Armour, the Arms and the Plunder which the *Romans* brought into their Camp, they were at last forced to surrender; and *Vercingentorix*, who had the Conduct of this whole War, went and prostrated himself at *Cæsar*'s Feet, who had him kept to be led to *Rome* in Triumph.

The great Actions which his Soldiers had seen him perform, when in three Battles they slew above 60000 (*a*) *Nervii*, 80000 *Switzers*, as many *Germans* who were conducted by *Arioviſtus*; the other prodigious Actions, whereof most of them were witnesses, before or after the Civil Wars, made them believe that there was something in him more than Humane. His Gifts, his Caresses, his good Fortune and his Conduct, created in them such Admiration and Respect, such Gratitude and Affection towards him, that there was no danger, nor death, which they did not despise, when he was concerned either for his Glory or his Interest. *Cassius* (*b*) *Sceva*, who in the defence of a Castle, had lost an Eye by the shot of an Arrow, received 125 strokes on his Shield; who had both his Shoulder and his Thigh thrust thro' with a Spear, in this condition called to his Enemies, who doubted not but he would surrender. But as two of the Enemies Soldiers came to him, *Cassius* with one stroke of his Sword cut off the Shoulder of one, and having wounded the other in the Face forced them to fly. A common Soldier named *Acilius* leaping into an Enemies Ship before *Marseilles*, and having his Right hand cut off with a Sword, took his Buckler with his Left, which he laid so roughly on the Faces of all that resisted him in the Ship, that in the end he made himself Master of it. In *Brittain*, when some had thrown themselves into a Morass full of Water

(*i*) *They possessed a part of the Country of* Namur, *the greatest part of* Haynault, *the Dutchy of* Tierach *in* Picardy, *and a part of* Cambresis. Cluver *in the* 220 *of the second Book of his ancient* Germany. (*k*) *Near* Dyrrachicum *a City of* Macedonia; *it is now called* Durazzo, *and* Drazzi *by the* Turk.

ter and Mud, and the *Britains* vigorouſly attacked them, another Soldier advancing into the middle of the Combatants, and having done wonders there, ſaved the Chief, who were in extreme danger, and beating off the Enemies, paſſed the Moraſs the laſt of all, ſometimes on Foot, ſometimes ſwimming, and did it ſo well that he recover'd the Bank. *Cæſar* who ſaw the Action, immediately came with ſome expreſſions of Joy to meet and embrace him. But the (*a*) Soldier hanging down his Head, with Tears in his Eyes, all of a ſuddain threw himſelf at *Cæſar*'s Feet, and beſeeched him to pardon his Fault, in that he had not brought back his Buckler. When *Scipio* took a Ship of *Cæſar*'s in *Africk*, and put all the Soldiers that were in it to the Sword, he ſaid to *Granius Petronius*, choſen Treaſurer, *That he would willingly give him his Life*; Petronius anſwering him, *That* Cæſar's *Soldiers gave Life to others, but never received it from any*, ran his Sword throw his Body, and made him tremble who offered him the Favour. Before the Battle of *Pharſalia*, his Soldiers having been forced to make Bread of certain Roots, threw his Bread into *Pompey*'s Camp, where there was then no want, and oftentimes cryed out to their Enemies, *That they would beſiege them as long as the Earth brought forth Roots*. *Pompey* who knew it, forbid this Bread to be ſhewn, or the Menace to be returned, adding, *That he had not Men but Beaſts to fight with*.

We may judge of his boldneſs by the anſwer he gave *Sylla*, who was Pretor, and favoured by the People whom he had corrupted with his Money. The latter, on ſome conteſts betwixt them, ſaid, That he would make a good uſe of that Power againſt him which his Office gave him; and *Cæſar* briskly anſwered him, *That he might, undoubtedly call it His Office, ſince he had bought it*. It is well known how he received the Reaſons of *Marcellus* a Tribune of the People, who oppoſed his taking the Money in the Temple of *Saturn*, which he took thence before he went into *Spain*; for he threatned to kill him, if he did not withdraw with thoſe

(*a*) *Val. Max. l.* 3. *c.* 2. *Ex.* 22 & 23.

those that followed him, adding, *That it was easier for him to do it than to say it.* He drove away his Collegue *Bibulus*, whose Sentiments were never agreeable to his; he ordered *Cato* to be Imprisoned for interrupting him when he pronounced certain Edicts; and compelled *Cicero* to leave *Rome*. As he crossed the Straits of *Hellespont* in a Ship, he was so far from flying from *Lucius Cassius*, whom he unexpectedly met with ten Ships, that he went on Board him, and so effectually perswaded him to surrender that he did it. To hasten his Soldiers, he passed in a Frigat by Night thro' the midst of his Enemies Fleet, and the Sea being very foul with a Tempest, and the Pilot afraid of the Waves which beat back into the River, he encouraged him by saying, *Fear nothing, thou carriest* Cæsar *and his good Fortune.* Before he embarked for *England*, he went himself to view the Ports and Roads. At the siege of *Alexandria* he threw himself into the Sea, believing his Ship would sink with the numbers of Soldiers who fled into it, frighted by a Sally which was made out of the City; he swam the length of 200 Paces to get on board another Ship, lifting up all the way his Left-hand, wherein he held as they say some Papers, for fear they should be wet; and dragging his Arms with his Teeth, that he might never be reproached of abandoning them to the Enemies of the *Romans.*

As he had a great and noble Soul, he had a habit of Clemency, and was of Opinion that this Vertue gave value to all the rest. But this Clemency was not a superficial Vertue in him; was founded neither on Interest nor on Politick Maxims. Neither was it the effect of Philosophy, but of his natural Inclination, which he could not resist without doing violence to himself, and it may be, suffering more thereby than those that suffered under it. Thus he sincerely pardoned those who published his Faults, or decryed his Conduct; and tho' he was able to punish them, he contented himself to make them acknowledge, *That they ought not to try his Patience too far by their Calumnies and Reproaches.* For these Reasons and others of the like nature, the Senate would have had him have a particular Temple for Cle-

Clemency; and it is for the ſame Reaſon that this Goddeſs is to be ſeen in ſome of this Emperor's Medals. When he was but the leaſt obliged, he cauſed all the Statues of *Sylla* and *Pompey* to be reſtored; by little and little called home the Exiles, and made them capable of Offices both Civil and Military. At the Battle of *Pharſalia* he cauſed Proclamation to be made that he pardoned the *Roman* Citizens; permitted every Soldier to ſave what Citizen he deſired; and there was no offence of his Enemies ſo great, but their Repentance was ſufficient to obtain a pardon from him. After he was declared Pretor, and *Catilines* horrid Conſpiracy was diſcovered, he ſtood alone in his Advice to ſend the Accomplices and Criminals to free Cities under ſecurity, and to confiſcate their Eſtates, altho' the Voice of the Senators was for putting them to Death. If ſome of theſe very Judges who embraced him, and covered him with their Robes, had not ſecured him from a great number of Knights, who had drawn their Swords to kill him, his moderation and indulgence had at that time coſt him his Life. Who then can believe that before he was Ædile, he was in the Conſpiracy of *M. Craſſus*, *L. Antonius* and *P. Sylla*, who had plotted to maſſacre the greateſt part of the Senators, ſeeing thoſe who endeavoured to make him appear an Accomplice in that deſign were his declared Enemies on all occaſions? Notwithſtanding this, his Ambition was exceſſive, and we have the true cauſe of the Civil War diſcovered in a few Words, when we know, *That* Cæſar *was too Ambitious to endure an Equal, and* Pompey *too free to endure a Superiour.*

He was honoured with the higheſt Offices of the Common-wealth, and his Actions obtained for him at ſeveral times, five Triumphs; that of the *Gauls*, of *Alexandria*, of the Kingdom of *Pontus*, of *Africk*, and of *Spain*. That of the *Gauls* was the moſt ſplendid and magnificent. In that of *Africk* the Son of *Juba* was led Captive; but that of *Spain*, for his Victory over *Pompey*'s two Sons, inſpired the People of *Rome* with Horrour and Compaſſion, becauſe in this great ſhow they

they ſaw the Family of one of the firſt and braveſt Men of their Common-wealth almoſt extinguiſhed.

Some have accuſed him of having been a little too Covetous, becauſe in *Spain* he took Money from the Proconſul and the Ally's; plundered ſome Cities who had opened their Gates at his coming; pillaged the principal Temples of the Gods in *Gaul*; put gilt Braſs into the Capitol inſtead of the Gold which he had taken thence; and ſold Offices, Alliances and Kingdoms. They who ſhall more ſtrictly examine Matters, will attribute that to Ambition which devoured him, and to the neceſſity of Affairs, which others have imputed to Avarice, and will confeſs that to accompliſh the great deſigns which he propoſed, he had not enough from all that he took, nor even from the 3600000 Crowns which he drew from *Ptolemy*, either in his own, or in *Pompey*'s Name.

To vindicate him from this Charge of Avarice, we need only look into the Hiſtorians who have ſpoken of his ſplendid Train; his publick Libraries, the care of which he committed to *Varro*; the Inheritances and Jewels with which he preſented all his Miſtreſſes; the Palaces he built with the rich Spoils of his Enemies, whereof one place alone coſt him (*a*) 2500000 Crowns. He built another Houſe within 5 or 6 Leagues of *Rome*, which he pulled down, becauſe it was too mean for him, altho' he was poor and deep in Debt. It ought alſo to be remembred, that when he was yet very young, and before he was poſſeſſed of any publick Employment, he owed 780000 Crowns, and wanted 12000000 and a half more according to ſome; and had nothing as himſelf ſaid, when he went into *Spain*, after his Pretorſhip. Being in *Gaul* he bought *Lucius Paulus* the Conſul Elect's Vote, at 900000 Crowns; and *Curio* had 1500000 for his. He gave 15 Millions of Gold to 10 Legi-

(*a*) *Cum ſolum tantum foro extruendo H. S. millies*, Cæſar *Dictator emerit*. Plin. *l.* 36. *c.* 15. *Hui! ſolum Ergo fori conſtitit quinque millionibus.* Jo. Meurſius *de Luxu* Roman. *c.* 2.

Legions, without reckoning the Principal Officers and Subalterns, who muſt have had double or treble what each Soldier had. And without comprehending the Corn and Oyl which he diſtributed among the common People, which might amount to 320000 Perſons; he made them a preſent of near five hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling at the ſame time. Add to theſe things which muſt have been conſiderable, all the Largeſſes which he frequently gave to his *Veteran* Soldiers, and to thoſe who were newly Liſted: to his Friends, to the Knights, to the Senators, and to other Magiſtrates; to the principal *Romans* and their Wives. Neither ought the 40 Millions of Gold to be forgotten, which he put into the Treaſury, and which he might eaſily have taken to himſelf, with other inconceivable Sums, from the ſale of a Million of Priſoners, not computing Women and Children; from the Spoils of the *Aſiaticks*, *Africans*, *Egyptians*, *Germans*, *Switzers* and of the *Gauls* eſpecially, whoſe Temples he had pillaged.

Can he be called a covetous Man who gave 10500 Crowns to *Decimus Laberius* a *Roman* Knight for one Comedy which pleaſed him; who made the *Theſſalians* free; who remitted the third part of the Debts of thoſe who rented the publick Farms, and a third part of the Tributes which the *Aſiaticks* were accuſtomed to pay; who in the Provinces made a wonderful Entertainment for his Friends and Strangers; who at one Feaſt treated the People of *Rome* at 22000 Tables; who gave ſo many (*a*) Games and Feaſts; who adorned the principal Cities of *Aſia*, *Africk*, the *Gauls*, *Italy*, *Spain* and *Greece*, with ſo many Buildings? He ought without doubt rather to be ſtiled Magnificent; he who for the glory of the Empire, and the conveniency of *Rome*, had

(*a*) *Leonum ſimul plurium pugnam*, Romæ *princeps dedit* Q. Scævola, P. Filius *in curuli Ædilitate. Centum autem jubatorum primus omnium* L. Sylla, *qui poſtea Dictator fuit, in Prætura. Poſt eum* Pompeius M. *in* Circo *D. C. in iis jubatorum CCCXV* Cæſar *Dictator CCCC.* Plin. *Nat. Hiſt. l.* 8. *c.* 16. *Idem eod. l. c.* 7. *& l.* 72. 25.

had a design to fill up a Lake, in order to make the Temple of *Mars*, the most magnificent Structure of the World; to erect a Theatre of a prodigious magnitude; to drain the *Pomptine* Fens which were betwixt *Terracina* and *Sermonetta*. He proposed to do the same to the *Fucine* Lake; to make a good way by the *Alpes*, from the *Adriatick* Sea to the *Tyber*; to cut thro' the famous Isthmus which separates the *Jonian* and the *Ægæan* Sea.

If we must attack him in his weak part, it is in that which hath been the weakness of other great Men. Indeed we do him no Injustice to say, that he had not an indifference for fine Women, since he received unlawful Favours from *Posthumia* the Wife of *Servius Sulpitius*; from *Lollia* the Wife of *Aulus Gabinius*; from *Tertulla*, *Marcus Crassus*'s Wife; and from *Muta*, *Pompey*'s. He was no less familiar with *Servilia*, Mother to *Marcus Brutus*, and Sister to *Cato*, whom besides great Revenues in Lands, as *Budæus* says, he presented with a Pearl worth above 150000 Crowns. This Lady according to the scandalous Chronicle, was Friend enough to her Gallant, to prostitute her own Daughter *Tertia Junia* to him. As he was a Man of a general affection, the brown and fair were not sufficient to hold him, he had pangs also for the Black; and if he could judge, when he saw *Eunoe* or *Eurye*, the Wife of *Bogud*, King of *Mauritania*, that *Africk* was not always the Mother of Monsters, he might believe some time after, that the Moores were not chaster than the *Romans*. To judge of the Beauty of so many Mistresses by the violence of his Passion, *Cleopatra* seem'd to carry it from all the rest; and he was perswaded that neither *Greece* nor *Italy*, but *Egypt* was the Country of Beauties. Indeed he was so strangely blinded with this Princesses beauty, that he resolved to go with her almost thro' all *Egypt* into *Æthiopia*, in a Ship which had Cabbins not inferiour in magnificence to the Chambers of the stateliest Palaces, which was above 300 Foot long, 30 Cubits broad, and almost 40 high, whose Ropes were made of Silk, the Sails died of the finest *Tyrian* Purple; the Oars covered with Silver; the Stern and double Prow shin-

shining with Gold. If the Army which he commanded had not refused to follow him, this young, ingenious, ambitious Mistress, was going to lead him in this Condition, in the sight of all her People, and to let them see, that the Conqueror of her Kingdom was her Slave.

The most unnatural and scandalous of all his Amours, was that which passed betwixt him and (a) *Nicomedes* King of *Bythynia*, which I should make some scruple to mention, but that *Bibulus*, with whom he was created Consul, made it sufficiently known, when he dared by an Edict to proscribe *the Queen of* Bithynia *his Collegue*. *Mark Anthony* also affirmed, that *Augustus*'s Adoption was the Effect and the Reward of the same Crime: And History, which sometimes delivers things a little bluntly, hath said, *That he was a Wife to all Husbands, and a Husband to all Wives.*

At the end of the civil Wars, he gave a great number of Spectacles; and to make himself Creatures, he chose Patricians; restored Offices to those from whom they had been taken; and received even the Sons of proscribed Persons into Offices; and had also the boldness to take into the Senate, People who had been made free of *Rome*, and *Gauls*, as History saith, half barbarous. He had not only the Dignity of Consul, and perpetual Dictator, and the (b) Title of the Father of the Countrey, but also the Quality of Lord, the privilege of wearing a Laurel Crown, which wonderfully pleased him, because it covered his Baldness. After all these Titles, and this Privilege, he permitted them to add to the seven Statues of the Kings, which were in the Capitol, (next to which, was placed that of *Lucius Brutus*) his own Statue; to raise him a Throne of Gold in the Court; to dedicate Temples to him, and to elect a particular Priest to be consecrated to his Me-

(a) *This* Nicomedes, *King of* Bithynia, *the 4th of that Name, Son of* Nicomedes *the 3d, surnamed* Philopator. *made the People of* Rome *his Heir by his Will.*

(b) *De Titulo* Patris Patriæ. *Ex Spanhem Dissert. 5. De* Præstantia & usu numismat.

Memory. But that which procured him no leſs hatred was, that being ſeated before the Temple of *Venus Genitrix*, he was not ſo civil as to riſe up when the Senators brought him ſome Ordinances to Sign. This hatred encreaſed, and brake out more, when at the return of the *Latine Feaſts*, in the midſt of the publick Acclamations, one having put a (a) Laurel-Crown, bound with a Fillet of white Cloth on his Statue, he commanded two Tribunes, who had taken away this Crown, to be impriſoned, *becauſe he was crowned to no purpoſe, or becauſe they had by this Action robb'd him of the Glory of refuſing the Royal Title, in the preſence of all the People.* He was, however, accuſed of aſpiring to it, notwithſtanding he anſwered all the People who ſaluted him with the Title of King, *That he was* Cæſar, *and not a King*; and had in the *Lupercal-Games*, ſent back into the Capitol, to *Jovi Optimo*, the (b) Diadem which *Antony*, who was at that time Conſul, often ſet upon his Head. About the ſame time, a report was ſpread, that he would tranſport all the Riches of the Common-wealth to *Alexandria*; and that *Lucius Cotta*, one of the Fifteen who kept the Books of the *Sibyls*, was to declare in the next Aſſembly, that the Books of the Deſtinies expreſsly decreed, that the *Parthians* could not be conquered nor ſubdued but by a King, and that *Cæſar* ſhould no longer bear any other Title.

He had already made his Preparations for that War, and promiſed himſelf, not only to conquer the *Parthians*, but to paſs immediately afterwards thro' *Hyrcania*, to recover the Kingdom of *Pontus*; to enter into *Scythia*, and the Provinces that border on *Germany*, to ſubdue *Germany* it ſelf, to return by *Gaul* into *Italy*, and to extend the *Roman* Empires on all ſides, that it ſhould know no Bounds but the Ocean. Altho' Fortune ſeemed to declare firſt againſt him in the laſt War which he made in *Spain*; he believed however, that this Fortune, which had never failed him in his neceſſity, would

(a) *Vid* Carol. Paſchal, *Coronar. l.* 9. *c.* 3. *in fine.*
(b) *Idem. l.* 9. *c.* 8.

Triumphal Statues to them in the Galleries which he had built on the Place; *To the end*, ſaid he, *that by beholding them, I may be put in mind to imitate them; and that thoſe who look on them, may be reminded of the ſame.* But as he paid his Troops very well, and that on a Fund which he had eſtabliſhed with great difficulty, he rewarded every one according to his Merit, and his Age: He would have alſo military Diſcipline to be religiouſly obſerved, and he was ſo exact therein, that he broke whole Legions, for diſcovering only a diſpoſition to Mutiny. A Company never broke their Rank, but was decimated, *i. e.* every tenth Man was put to Death for it; and he alſo cauſed Captains to be Beheaded, if they left their Garriſon without leave.

His Prudence inſtantly appeared, when he received intelligence that his Uncle *Julius* was murthered in the Senate, and had made him his Heir, in going from *Apollonia* to *Rome*. As he found himſelf ſlighted by *Antony*, becauſe he was but young, he courted the Friendſhip of the Senators, and of all other Magiſtrates, and did it ſo dextrouſly, that he made himſelf Maſter of the *Veterane* Troops, which had ſerved under *Julius Cæſar*. *Antony* ſurprized at his Boldneſs and good Fortune, was obliged to court him; but as their accommodation laſted but a very little while, *Auguſtus* followed him to *Modena*, with a conſiderable Force, defeated him, and forced him ſome time after to hearken to Peace. It was that time that *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and himſelf, made the Empire their Legal Patrimony, divided it by common Conſent, and ſigned their Power by Proſcriptions, and Murthers. To make this Calamity yet greater, *Lucius*, in the abſence of his Brother *Antony*, raiſed ſome Forces againſt *Auguſtus*, who beat him at *Peruſia*, and not ſatisfied with the Blood of the great number of Citizens ſlain in this Battle, he choſe 300 Men of the Senatorian and Equeſtrian Orders, and having ordered them to be led to the Foot of the Altar conſecrated to the Memory of *Julius Cæſar*, ſlew them as Victims. This horrid Maſſacre rendred him odious to all good Men, and without aggravat-

ing any thing: It is certaain in his Triumvirate, he was ſo cruel, that *Mæcenas* being not able to ſtay in an Aſſembly which was deciding of the Lives of ſeveral Perſons, preſented him with a little Note, which began with theſe Words; *I go out of the Slaughter-houſe*, which however did not at all diſpleaſe him. After this War, (notwithſtanding which, the breach betwixt him and *Antony* was again made up in appearance) he went into *Theſſaly* to revenge *Julius Cæſar*'s death; and it was there that *Caſſius* having been routed by *Antony*, defired his Servant *Pindarus* to kill him, which he did; and that *Brutus* after the loſs of another Battle, killed himſelf.

All that was wanting for *Auguſtus* to finiſh the civil War, was to reduce *Sextus Pompeius*, who was in *Sicily*, and he effected it; baniſhed *Lepidus*, whom he had recalled from *Africk*, and took from him his Government and his Army, becauſe he began to aſpire to the Sovereignty. *Antony*, who did every thing by the Counſel of *Cleopatra*, took Arms againſt him, ſo that *Auguſtus* being informed he had committed his laſt Teſtament to the Veſtals, he compelled them to deliver it to him. He no ſooner brought it into the Senate, but every one uttered Imprecations againſt *Mark Antony*, who affirmed by this Will, that *Cæſarion* was the legitimate Heir of *Julius Cæſar*, ordered that the Kingdoms belonging to the Empire, ſhould be divided amongſt *Cleopatra*'s Children: That in whatſoever Place he died, his Body ſhould be carried to *Alexandria*, and laid in the ſame Place which this Queen deſign'd for her Sepulture. *Auguſtus* wanted no other Reaſons nor Pretexts to juſtifie the War, and after he had made his Preparations, marched directly towards *Actium*, a City of *Acarnania* in *Greece*, near the *Ambracian* Gulph, or the Gulph of *Larta*, which is now called *Capo-Figalo*. It was there he defeated both the Sea and Land Forces of *Mark Antony*, who ſtabb'd himſelf after he had made his eſcape into *Egypt* with *Cleopatra*. To extinguiſh Rebellion in its very Source, he put to Death *Cæſarion*, the Son of *Julius Cæſar* by this

this Queen, and (a) *Antyllus*, the eldeſt Son of *Antony* and *Fulvia*; but for the reſt of *Antony*'s Children which he had by his Wife, he took all imaginable care of their Education.

All the Libels that were written againſt him, all the Conſpiracies that were made againſt his Life, and which enclined him twice to reſign the Empire, ſerved only to make him acknowledge to his obſtinate Enemies, and amongſt others, to *Cima*, that he was more enclined to pardon Injuries and Treaſons, than to puniſh them. An old Soldier being accuſed of a Crime, and begging his Aſſiſtance, *Auguſtus* choſe one of his Friends to plead his Cauſe, becauſe he was taken up with ſome buſineſs. But the Soldier had no ſooner ſaid to him, ſhewing him all his Wounds, *Ah! Cæſar, you may ſee whether I ſerved you by a Proxy at the Battel of* Actium, *where you were in ſo great danger*, but *Auguſtus* went to defend him, ſo that he might be accuſed neither of Vain-Glory nor Ingratitude. When he heard that *Herod* had put his own Son *Antipater* to Death, he ſaid, *He had rather be* Antipater's *Hog, than his Son*, becauſe the *Jews* did not kill this Creature, being not permitted to eat it. It is true, his Clemency extended not to his Daughter *Julia*, whom he was obliged to baniſh into an Iſland for her Debaucheries, and inſtead of harkening to the Interceſſions of thoſe who moved on her behalf, he ſaid no more, but wiſhed *That they had a Daughter like her.*

Altho' he had ſubdued many Nations, forced many Kings to court the Alliance of the *Romans*, obliged the *Parthians* and *Scythians* to beg Peace, and to be admitted into Amity with him, ſhut the Temple of *Janus* thrice, which had been done but twice before ſince the Foundation of *Rome*, he grew never the more Inſolent nor Proud. From the time that he became Maſter of the Empire, he never took Arms but when the Enemies of the State forced him to it: And he was

(a) *De Antyllo & Julio*, Jacob. Penſonius Animadv. *Hiſtor. c.* 3. *p.* 151, 152.

wont to ſay, *That it was Vanity and Madneſs, to hazard the Lives of Citizens for a laurel Crown; and that War ought never to be made, but when the good that might be gained by it was much more conſiderable than that which was in danger of being loſt thereby.* How great an Intereſt ſoever he had acquired, he uſed it always with much Moderation: And he never recommended any of thoſe he had adopted to the Senate, when he deſired ſomething for them, but he added, *If they are worthy of it.* His Son *Lucius* preſſing him one Day, to declare his Brother *Caius* Conſul, he contented himſelf to anſwer, *That they ſhould have that which they deſired, when they had Prudence enough for Conduct, and Firmneſs enough to withſtand the Seditions of the People.* Being informed that the Son of his Enemy *Lepidus* had conſpired againſt his Life, he ſent for the Criminal's Father, to expoſe him to the Contempt of all People: And as they were buſy in chuſing Senators to fill up the Places of thoſe who had arrived at this Honour by their Intriegues and their Money, *Antiſtius Labeo*, who was one of this illuſtrious Society, had the Boldneſs to give his Vote for *Lepidus*, which aſtoniſhed the whole Aſſembly. *Auguſtus* ſurprized at this Impudence, ask'd him, *If he knew none more capable of it?* And *Labeo* anſwered him ſmartly enough, *That every one had his own Opinion.* At this Anſwer *Auguſtus* fell into a Paſſion, and told him, *That it ſhould coſt him his Life.* But *Labeo* changing neither his Opinion nor his Countenance, replied, *That he did not think himſelf miſtaken, when he eſteemed that Man worthy of the Quality of a Senator, whom* Auguſtus *himſelf ſuffered ſo quietly to enjoy the High-Prieſthood.* He was immediately appeaſed; and that which was like to have been *Labeo*'s ruine, ſaved him, for *Auguſtus* would never deprive *Lepidus* of this Dignity, altho' he was very ambitious of being High-Prieſt himſelf.

They granted him ſome particular Triumphs; but he triumphed ſolemnly three Days ſucceſſively. The firſt Triumph was over the *Pannonians*, the *Sclavonians*, the *Japides*, and ſome Provinces of *Germany*. The ſecond for the Victory obtained in *Acarnania* in the Gulph of *Actium*;

Actium; and the third over the *Egyptians* and *Alexandria*. This laſt was magnificent for the Riches and Spoils of his Enemies; for the Effigies of *Cleopatra* lying on a ſplendid Bed, and repreſented with a naked Arm, on which was faſtned an Aſp which ſtung her, and on one ſide of it walked her Son *Alexander*, to whom ſhe gave the name of the *Sun*, and her Daughter *Cleopatra*, whom ſhe named *Selene* or *the Moon*. Beſides the Offices which he had of Cenſor and High prieſt, he was 13 times Conſul, continued 37 Years Tribune, and 25 times obtained the quality of Emperour. But as he would never take that of *Lord* or *perpetual Dictator*, well knowing that ſo invidious a Title coſt his Uncle his Life; ſo had he no need of it, ſince he was chief of the *Augurs* or Prieſts; Maſter and Judge of the Senate and Nobility; could raiſe Money when he would; diſpoſe of the City, the Provinces and the Realms; and was able to deſtroy all that were not of his Sentiments or Party. The Senate who regarded him as their Oracle and as their God, declared him perpetual Tribune; decreed that in the Provinces the Governors ſhould give him the firſt place, and that whereſoever he was, he ſhould have the power of making Laws. They alſo ordered, that in the Prayers which the Prieſts and Veſtals made for the proſperity of the Senate, they ſhould make a particular one for him; and that his Birth-day ſhould be reckoned amongſt the Feaſts of the State. To reward *Antonius Muſa*, who had cured him of a dangerous Diſeaſe, the People raiſed a Statue to this Phyſician; and on this very conſideration the Senate granted Privileges to the whole Profeſſion. The Senate decreed alſo, that no Criminal ſhould be Executed when *Auguſtus* entred *Rome*; and the Fathers of Families at their death commanded their Children to carry Victims to the Capitol, and to ſignifie in Capital Letters, that they offered them *Becauſe they left* Auguſtus *in Health at the Day of their death*. Strangers had no leſs veneration for him, and many Princes gloried in following him in his Journies in long Gowns. *Herod* King of the *Jews*, *Juba* King of *Mauritania*, built or repaired magnificent Cities, which in Honour of him, they named *Cæſareas*.

The *Persian* Ambassadors having finished a Temple, ordered it to be consecrated *to the Genius of* Augustus; and *Porus* (*a*) and *Pandion*, the most powerful Kings of the *Indians*, sent him Ambassadors with Presents, to pray him to receive them into the number of the *Roman* Allies.

But notwithstanding all the Honours he received, it must be owned, that never a Prince had more to complain of, if we consider the many Conspiracies that were made against his Life; the Wrecks of his Fleets; the revolt of his Troops both in Peace and War; the dangers he was in at *Pannonia*, *Sicily* and *Perusia*; the Treasons of his Confidents and Friends; the Ambition and Artifices of his Wife; and the scandalous debauches of his Daughter: Add to all these the loss of his Children, the defeat of his Legions, of *Quintilius Varus*, of his Lieutenants, and of his Auxiliary Troops in *Germany*; the retreat of *Tiberius*, and the sensible regret which he conceived for having adopted a Monster for his Heir and Successor.

Never was there Superstition greater nor more ridiculous than his: He feared Lightning and Thunder to that degree, that he never put off the Skin of a Sea-Calf, as if the Skin of this Fish had any Vertue against a Thunderbolt; and he retired into deep vaulted places upon the bare suspicion of a Tempest. He not only minded his own Dreams, but also other Mens Dreams of him; and any trifling Dreams were enough to give him joy or trouble. As he travelled by Sea or Land, if small Rain like Dew happen'd to fall in the Morning, he doubted not but his Voyage would be prosperous, and that this Rain was a sign of a quick return. As he was at *Capreæ*, he was perswaded that an old Holm Tree recovered its first vigour from the moment he look'd on it. He conceived such joy at this imagination, that he would have it in exchange, and gave the *Neapolitans Enaria*, now *Ischia*, an Isle in the *Tyrrhenian* Sea,

(*a*) *Vid.* Casaubon. *ad* Sueton. August. *c.* 21. Christoph. Adam Rupert. *Dissert. ad* Val. Max. *c.* 1. *l.* 4. *p.* 303.

Sea, near the Coaſt of *Campania di Roma*, in the Gulf of *Puzzolo*. There were certain Days on which he would never begin an Affair of importance, becauſe he believed them unfortunate; and before the Battel of *Actium*, having met a Man driving an Aſs, becauſe the name of one was *Eutychus*, i. e. *Fortunate*, and of the other, *Nicen*, which ſignifies *Conqueror*, he conceived infallible hopes of Victory. The event anſwered his Expectation, and he cauſed the Aſs driver and the Aſs to be repreſented in Braſs in the Temple which he built in the mouth of the Gulf of *Larta*.

He had two illuſtrious Favourites, *M. Vipſanius Agrippa*, whom he made his Son-in-law, and (a) *Mæcenas* whom he would have made Governor of *Rome*. But altho' he was infinitely obliged to both of them, and grateful to theſe two great Men for all the Services they had done him, he was not able to reſiſt the Charms of *Terentia*, the Wife of generous *Mæcenas*; and the ſecret Paſſion which he had for her, made him forget the moſt ſacred obligations of Friendſhip. Not to diſſemble the Matter, he was not over-good natured on this occaſion, altho' he puniſhed with rigour enough in others thoſe Vices which they condemned in him. If we may believe his Enemies, who did ſometimes ſpeak truth, he led a Lady out of the banquetting Room, and brought her back again into the ſame Room, in her Husbands preſence, with glowing Ears, languiſhing Eyes, her Head-dreſs awry, and a higher colour than ordinary in her Face. The Senators Wives were no more ſacred than his Favourite Wife; and if he was for enjoying their laſt Favours only that he might thereby diſcover the ſecrets of their Husbands, we may conclude by the long and frequent viſits that he made them, that there never was a Man impatient nor more curious than he, to know what paſſed in Families. The miſchief is, that he had People in conſtant pay, who regularly ſought out for him young and beautiful Maids, that had no great ſe-

(a) *De* Mæcenate, Seneca *Epiſt.* 19. *Ep.* 92. 94. 101. *De* Agrippa, *idem Controvers. lib.* 2. *Controv.* 4. & *lib.* 3. *De Beneficijs, c.* 32.

crets to reveal to him; and his own Wife *Julia*, whom ſome have ſet forth for an example of Vertue, was not ſo ſcrupulous, but that ſhe would ſometimes procure Women for his unlawful Pleaſures. *Mark Antony*, even before he was his Enemy, took the liberty to write to him, *That he was to blame not to love him more; and that if* Cleopatra *was the cauſe of it, he was not ignorant that he had already made her his Wife. That in ſhort he thought it not at all ſtrange that he was Gallant to* Tertulla, *to* Terentilla, *to* Ruſilla, *and to* Silvia Titiſcenia, *nor that he ſought to divert himſelf with the next who was capable to charm him.*

At laſt, after all the good and evil that Fortune could do him, he fell ſick in his return from *Naples* to *Rome*, and was forced to keep Bed at *Nola*. The Day that he died he would be comb'd, and alſo painted, becauſe he was much altered with his ſickneſs. Taking notice of ſome of his Friends who came into his Chamber, he asked them, *Whether he had not play'd his part well?* and added, *Clap your Hands*, which was wont to be done at the end of Comedies. At the ſame time he made them a ſign to retire, and having enquired of others who came from *Rome*, if *Druſus*'s Daughter was yet ill, he turned his Face towards *Livia*, ſaid to her, *Live* Livia, *and forget not our Marriage*, and kiſſing her died, *A. M.* 3985.

It was ſuſpected that he was poiſoned *(a)* by this Woman whom he loved paſſionately, for fear he ſhould recall *Agrippa Poſthumus*, whom ſhe mortally hated, and by recalling him, utterly deprive her Son *Tiberius* of the Empire, whom he had choſen for his Succeſſour. He was lamented to that degree, that ſome of the Senators were of Opinion, that the Senators and Knights on the Day of his Funeral, ſhould put off their Gold and wear Iron Rings; that the Image of the Goddeſs Victory ſhould be carried in Proceſſion before the Body; that the whole ſpace of his Life ſhould be ſtiled *The Auguſt Age*, and that the Funeral Pomp ſhould paſs under the

(a) Dio *l.* 56.

the triumphal Gate. They opened his Teſtament which he had made 14 Months before he dyed, and it was found that he had declared *Tiberius* his principal Heir; that he had given prodigious ſums in Legacy to the *Roman* People, to the Tribunes, to each Pretorian Soldier, to the Legionaries, and to the Companies of the Ordinance for the guard of the City. It appeared there that he confeſſed that all his Relations could expect but 750000 Crowns from him, becauſe beſides the Gifts he had received from his Friends for 20 Years, which amounted to above 20 Millions of Gold, he had employed the Patrimony of his Uncle *Julius* and his Father *Octavius*, on the neceſſities of the State. The reading of his Teſtament drew Tears from all People; and the greateſt Enemies of *Auguſtus*, reflecting on his Vices and on his Vertues, acknowledge that there was reaſon to wiſh, *That he had never been born, or never dyed.* In the mean time *Numerius Atticus*, who had been Pretor, who had great Credit, and had received of *Livia* 25000 Crowns, to ſwear that he ſaw him mount up into Heaven, made Oath of it before the People; and there needed no more to make him a (*a*) God; which ſufficiently ſheweth, that at that time Gods were made at a cheap rate.

CHAP. VI.

TIBERIUS.

Tiberius Claudius Nero, the Son of *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, and of *Livia Druſilla* or *Julia*, the Daughter of *Livius Druſus Calidianus*, was born at *Rome* in the Conſulſhip of *Marcus Æmylius Lepidus*, and of *Lucius Munatius Plancus*, in the 15*th* of *November* A. M. 3930 *V. C.*

(*a*) *Olim magna res erat Deum fieri.* Seneca *in Apolocynth.*

U. C. 711, before the birth of Christ 41 Years. He lived above (*a*) 77 Years; reigned 22 and 8 Months or only 22 according to some Authors; and he was 56 when he came to the Empire. The Family of the *Claudii*, whence he descended, was famous for 28 Consulships, 5 Dictatorships, 7 Censorships, 2 Ovations and 6 Triumphs.

By his first Wife *Vipsania Agrippina*, the Daughter of *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, and of *Cæcilia Attica*, he had a Son named *Drusus*, who perfectly resembled him in his Vices; and by *Julia*, *Agrippa*'s Widow he had another who lived but a very little while.

(*b*) He had good Features, a fair Complexion but reddish, a melancholy and severe Air, a fierce look, great Eyes, the forepart of his Head bald, a stinking Breath, large Shoulders and Breast, a grave Gate, a Stature of an extraordinary size, and his Body could not be better proportioned, nor more robust; his Sight was so piercing that he saw very clearly in the dark; he used his Left-hand better than his Right; he was of a prodigious Strength; wore his Hair long behind; held his Neck stiff when he walked and turned it awry, and pressed his Chin against his Throat. Wheresoever he was, he spake but little, and that very slowly; he always used much action with his Fingers; and his Countenance sufficiently shewed that he must be Prudent and brave. He was indeed a great Captain, and when he had managed his Advantages, and given order for Battle, he was the first to set his Soldiers an example with what resolution they must fight. From the age of 30 to his Death, he never used the advice of Physicians; and his Constitution was so strong, that he was scarce ill all the time he was Emperor. As he dreaded Thunder, he wore a Laurel Crown as oft as

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(*a*) *Sic* Tiberius *finivit octavo & septuagesimo Anno* Taciti *Annal. l.* 6. *Post septuagesimum octavum annum & mensem quartum*, Aurel. Victor. Ἔτη τὲ ϗ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη, ϗ μῆνας τέτταρας, ϗ ἡμέρας ἕνδεκα, Dio *l.* 8. (*b*) Sueton. *in* Tiberio *c.* 67. Plin. *Hist. Nat. l.* 2. *c.* 37.

as he imagined there was any Tempeſt in the Air, not doubting but he was ſafe, thro' an Opinion, (a) That Laurel was never touched by a Thunderbolt. When he grew old, he was forced to cover with Plaiſters, the Carbuncles with which his Face was beſtudded, and he grew at laſt ſo ugly, crooked, withered, and bald, that he was often pitied even by thoſe that fear'd him. One ſeeing his Puſtles and his red Face, ſaid, *That he was a Mulberry with Meal ſtrew'd on it.* But the expreſſion of his Maſter in Rhetorick, who knew his Cruelties well enough, was much ſharper, when he ſaid, *That he was Dirt kneaded with Blood.*

(b) Never was there a more fantaſtical, cruel, miſtruſtful, diſſembling and perfidious Man. His Thoughts and Words were always contrary, and he held it for a Maxim, *That the Heart of a Prince ought never to be known by any one.* He lived ſeriouſly with thoſe who were devoted to him; flattered thoſe whom he deſign'd to deſtroy; appeared gay when he was angry; expreſſed grief and trouble when his Mind was ſatisfied. He refuſed what he wiſhed to obtain, granted what he would have been glad not to have given; and as he put thoſe to death who either did, or did not know his Intentions, becauſe he always commanded one thing, when he would have another, it was equally dangerous to reſiſt or obey his Orders.

In his Infancy he had ſtrange Adventures, for he was always with his Father, who after he had been made Treaſurer by *Julius Cæſar*, Admiral in the *Alexandrine* War, High-Prieſt after *Publius Scipio*, had the boldneſs to maintain, that the Murtherers of *Julius Cæſar* ought all to be rewarded. Alſo in the War of the Triumvirate, he followed *Lucius Antonius* to *Peruſia*; and after he had fled to *Præneſte*, (which is *Paleſtina*, 20 Miles from *Rome*) to *Naples*, to *Sicily*, and to *Achaia*, he made his Peace with *Auguſtus*, to whom he gave his Wife *Livia Druſilla* in marriage. By his crying

(a) Tiberium *Principem tonante cælo coronari eâ ſolitum contra fulminum metus.* Plin. *l.* 15. *c.* 30.

(b) *V. Dio. l.* 57. *Sect. Aurel-Victor.* Sueton. *&c.*

crying he was twice very near discovering his Father and Mother, who were forced with precipitation to run into a Shallop near *Naples*, to avoid the Fury of *Augustus*'s Soldiers, who pursued them with a design to kill them. After they brought him out of *Lacedemon*, where he had been entrusted, because this City was under the Protection of the *Claudij*, a Flame which arose by Night about the Forests, increased with such violence, and so suddenly surprized him, that it burnt his Hair, and also part of his Gown.

He was very young when his Father *Claudius Tiberius Nero* died; and he was but nine Years old when he made a Funeral Oration on him, in the Place where they were accustomed to make Orations, called the *Rostra* or *Beaks*, because this Place was adorned with the *Beaks* of the Ships which the *Romans* had taken from the *Antiates*. It may be that he only pronounced what another had composed for him, for which there was occasion for nothing but his Memory. However that be; he learned the Liberal Arts with great exactness, but as he had a mighty Affectation for obsolete Words, it made his Style obscure, and his extempore Speeches were much better than his premeditated ones. He made some *Lyrick* Verses, which he entituled, *Lamentations on the death of* Julius Cæsar, or according to others, on *Lucius Cæsar*; composed *Greek* Poems, and esteemed *Parthenius* of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, *Euphorion* of *Chalcis* in *Ætolia*, and *Rhianus* of *Bene* or *Ceræa* in the Isle of *Crete*, as Models to be imitated. He would have also their Works and Statues placed in publick Libraries, which obliged the Wits of that time to praise these three Poets in the Writings which they dedicated to him. The reading of Romances was his delight; and as he entertained the Grammarians about trifles, and never failed to propose ridiculous Questions to them, he enquired of them, *Who was* Hecuba's *Mother? What Airs the* Syrens *were wont to Sing?* or *What Name* Achilles *went by when he wore Womens Cloaths, and lived with the Princess* Deidamia? Altho' he was skilful in the *Greek* Tongue, he did not use it on all occasions, and he would never have it pro-

promiſcuouſly mingled with *Latin*: He was ſo ſcrupulous herein, that pronouncing *Metropolis* in the Senate, he deſired to be excuſed for uſing this foreign Word; and when *Emblem* or *Problem* was inſerted in a Decree, he was for changing it, or if they could not find another that could expreſs the thing well, they ſhould do it by Circumlocution. He alſo commanded a *Greek* Soldier upon his Tryal, always to anſwer in *Latin*, and could never endure to have theſe two Languages confounded.

Judiciary Aſtrology was a long time his Employment and Delight, altho' he had no great kindneſs for Aſtrologers, whom he had baniſhed into the remoteſt Provinces, if they had not promiſed to renounce this Study. It is true he always loved *Thraſyllus*, and put the greateſt confidence in him. Indeed having conſulted him when he dwelt at *Rhodes*, he underſtood from him, that he ſhould infallibly be Emperour. *Tiberius* who treated all the People of his Profeſſion very ill, asked him what would become of himſelf, and what his Deſtiny was, having firſt inſenſibly led him up on a high Rock, whence he reſolved to have him thrown headlong by a freed Man who accompanied him, if his anſwer ſhould not be right. *Thraſyllus*, who it may be, immediately ſuſpected *Tiberius*'s reſolution, deſired him to give him ſome time to obſerve the Poſition of the Heavens, and the Aſpect of the Stars; and he no ſooner cried out, *That he had never ſeen himſelf in greater danger*, when *Tiberius*, who muſt know it, embraced him, gave him his Life, and aſſured him of his Friendſhip.

(a) In the War of *Cantabria*, or *Biſcay*, he was a military Tribune, and it was the firſt time he ſerved under the Pay of the Republick. Some time after, he led a conſiderable Army into *Aſia*, altho' he was then but 23 Years old; reſtored *Tigranes* to his Kingdom, and obliged him to deliver up the Standards which had been taken in that Battel, in which *Marcus Craſſus* loſt

(a) *De Tribunis Milit.* Alex. *ab* Alexandro. *Dierum Genialium. l.* 6. *c.* 18. *ad eum* Colerus & Tiraquellus.

loſt his Life, *Publius Craſſus*, his Son, and 20000 *Romans* were cut in pieces by the *Surena*, or Lieutenant General of the King of the *Parthians*. He conquered at ſeveral times, the People of *Moldavia*, of *Valachia*, of *Tranſilvania*, of *Sclavonia*, of *Hungary*, of *Auſtria*, and of *Bohemia*. He was nine times in *Germany*, and as he ſucceeded in his Enterprizes againſt the *Germans*; he was the firſt whom they ſurnamed *Germanicus*, for it was after him, that his Brother *Druſus*, and the Son of this *Druſus*, (whom *Tiberius* was obliged to adopt by *Auguſtus*'s command) received this ſirname. To ſay the truth, tho' all theſe Wars brought no great advantage to the *Romans*, they contributed much to their Glory, and if the ſucceeding Actions of *Tiberius* had anſwerd the beginning of his Life, *Rome*, which afterwards lookt on him as a Monſter, might have reckoned him amongſt her Gods.

To examine him by Appearances, he hated foreign Ceremonies, eſpecially thoſe of the *Jews* and *Ægyptians*. He compelled both to burn the Ornaments and Veſtments which they uſed in their Temples. He ſent the moſt conſiderable of the *Jews* into *Sardinia*, or according to others, into Provinces infected with the Plague: And he made an Edict, that whatſoever *Roman* Citizens aſſiſted at their Myſteries, ſhould be Slaves for the remainder of their Lives. This ſevere Law was the effect of an odd Adventure. There was a Lady at *Rome*, who was a finiſhed Beauty, named *Paulina*, whom a young *Roman* Knight, called *Mundus*, loved with a violent Paſſion, and who after many fruitleſs Sighs, promiſed her 20000 Crowns for one Night; but was received never the better for theſe offers, than he was the firſt Day of his Courtſhip. *Mundus* deſpairing after ſo many refuſals of this Beautiful Perſon, and reſolving to loſe his Life, having loſt his Hopes, intended to pine himſelf to death with Hunger, which could not be ſo ſecretly done, but *Ide*, a free Woman of *Mundus*'s Father, came to know it; as ſhe was naturally officious, ſhe engaged to ſerve him in his Amour, and doubting that *Paulina*'s Vertue was proof againſt Money, ſhe hoped to compaſs her Deſign by

Artifice.

Artifice. After ſhe had concerted the matter with *Mundus*, knowing that *Paulina* had a ſingular Devotion for *Iſis*, ſhe went and diſcourſed the Prieſt of this Goddeſs, promiſed them 5000 Crowns, half in Hand, and the reſt when they ſhould have accompliſhed what ſhe was ready to propoſe to them. The moſt ancient of the Prieſts being acquainted with the Gentleman's Paſſion, and gained with his Money, went to *Paulina*; told her that ſhe ſhould reſolve to grant a Favour to the God *Anubis*, what Night he demanded it of her. The devout Lady received the Embaſſy with all the ſubmiſſion and reſpect imaginable, acquainted her Husband *Saturninus* with the Honour that this God *Anubis* would do her; and not to make him languiſh, ſhe went to the Temple, where the Prieſts conducted her into a Chamber, where the Lights were put out. She was no ſooner laid down, but *Mundus* laid down beſide her without Ceremony, and without ſpeaking to her, made her underſtand, that the *Ægyptian* God loved ſometimes to divert himſelf. He failed not to riſe very early in the Morning, that he might not be known by *Paulina*, who pleaſed with the Honour which ſhe had received from the God *Anubis*, acquainted her whole Family and the Neighbourhood with it. The worſt was, that the Knight meeting her 3 Days after in the Street, confeſſed to her, that he was made a God to enjoy her, and that he was the very *Anubis* who had done her that Honour. At this News *Paulina* rent her Gown, and required *Saturninus* to revenge this Action. *Tiberius* being informed of the truth of the whole matter, and having a regard to the Quality of this devout and credulous Lady, commanded that *Ide*, and all the Prieſts of the Temple ſhould be hang'd; that the Temple of *Iſis* ſhould be razed to the ground; that the Image of this foreign Goddeſs ſhould be thrown into the *Tybur*; that the *Ægyptians* and *Jews* ſhould quit *Rome*; and was contented only to baniſh *Mundus*, whoſe love he thought did in ſome ſort palliate his Crime.

It was not, however, out of Zeal or Piety that he baniſhed theſe Wretches, for he had no Religion: He forbid

forbid the consulting in secret, those that divine by the inspection of the Entrails of Beasts: He endeavoured to ruin the Oracles that were near *Rome*; attributed all Events to Fatality, without allowing any thing to Providence. In the mean while, to make a Religion serve his Politicks, he dedicated Temples to *Castor* and *Pollux*; to *Bacchus*; to *Ceres*; to *Flora*; to *Concord*; and to *Proserpina*.

Had he been really so Generous, and so Modest, as he endeavoured to appear, he might have served for a perfect Model to all good Princes, who afterwards detested his Hypocrisy and his Maxims. Being at *Rhodes*, he had a desire to hear one *Diogenes* a Grammarian, who read publick Lectures every *Saturday*; and *Diogenes* very insolently sent him word by a Slave, that it would be seven Days before he should return, for he had chosen his Hour ill. Some time after, this Grammarian having a Cause to sollicite at *Rome*, went to visit *Tiberius*; and as he saluted him at the Gate of his Palace, where he waited, *Tiberius* who had an opportunity to revenge himself, and relished revenge, only told him, *That he would return at seven Years end*, and give him Audience. Altho' *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia* had followed *Antony*'s side in the Battel of *Actium*, yet he did not stick to defend him, and even before *Augustus* pleaded with no less earnestness for the People of *Thessaly*; interceeded for those of *Scio*, of *Laodicea*, and of *Thyatira*, who having been ruin'd by a dreadful Earthquake, implored the assistance of the *Romans*.

Thro' his great Policy, whereby he knew how to cover all his Vices, he referred to the Senators, the cognizance of all Affairs of importance; reduced the Senators to a certain number; prohibited Taverns; regulated the Furniture of Houses, and Price of Provisions. He constituted Punishments for Women of scandalous Lives; deprived a Treasurer of his Office, who had drawn Lots to determine, which he should marry of all the Women that were offered him, and married her that the Lot fell on, and divorced her the next Day after the Marriage. Altho' his Ambition

was

was boundleſs; and he obtained the Office of Treaſurer, of Pretor, of Cenſor, of high Prieſt, and had been four times Conſul, he managed it ſo as to make it doubtful, whether his Valour or Modeſty were the greater. *Auguſtus* declared him Tribune for ten Years; by a ſolemn Edict he would have him Copartner with him in the Empire; and he appeared to be no otherwiſe ſenſible of this Honour but in Complaiſance. When the *Romans* deſired him to give them leave to change the name of the Month *November*, in which he was born, into that of *Tiberius*, he asked them what they would do if they had 13 *Cæſars*. He would never permit them to call him *Father of the Country*, or *Lord*; to put up a triumphal Crown at the entrance of his Palace; to keep his Birth-day; to place his Statues amongſt thoſe of the Gods, or to dedicate Temples to him. A Senator having before all the People called all his Employments *Sacred*, he conjured him to change the Word *Sacred* for that of *Troubleſom*: And when another ſaid to him, *That he was come into the Senate at his command*, he modeſtly anſwered him, *That it was not at his command but his Entreaty.* Altho' he was ſenſibly touched with the leaſt Injuries, he unconcernedly ſuffered People to ſpeak openly againſt him; and ſaid with a pleaſant Countenance, *That in a free City Mens Tongues and Minds ought to be free.* The better to cover his Ambition, he commonly went into the Senate without any body to accompany him; and to conceal his natural cruelty he would lowdly call on the Judges to remember what they owed to Religion and the Laws. He would himſelf be preſent at the Funerals of the more eminent Citizens of *Rome*, and ſee their Bodies burnt, contrary to the Cuſtom of the Emperors, who were not preſent but at the Funeral Oration; and when ſome adviſed him to augment the Impoſts of the Provinces of the Empire, he anſwered with great ſeriouſneſs, *That a good Shepherd ought to ſhear and not to flea his Sheep.*

As he durſt not diſcover whither his Inclinations carried him, and that *Caius* and *Lucius*, the Sons of *Agrippa*, and of *Julia* the Daughter of *Auguſtus* could not longer endure him, he retired into the Iſle of *Rhodes*, that he

might be no longer ſuſpected by them. It is certain however, that his Policy ſucceeded not well at that time, for he was miſtaken in thinking that he ſhould make himſelf deſired by his Abſence; and that he could obtain of *Auguſtus* to declare him his Lieutenant of this Iſle, after he had ineffectually oppoſed his retreat. But as he found himſelf ſlightly wounded by theſe young Princes, whoſe Mother he had married after *Agrippa's* Death, and who had been adopted by their Uncle *Auguſtus*, he omitted no artifices to make himſelf beloved; and in fine, to rid himſelf of all grounds of Fear, he cauſed one of them to be poiſoned in his Journey into *Spain*, and the other in *Syria*. *Auguſtus* who then ſaw himſelf without Poſterity, being forced to yield to the continual ſollicitations of *Livia*, who begged him to adopt *Tiberius*, at laſt complied with her. He was perſwaded that he could not make a juſter choice than in favour of a Man who had done him great Service in all his Wars; who had received the higheſt Honours with wonderful Modeſty; and who ſometimes prayed to the Gods *but for ſo much Life as was neceſſary for the good and glory of the Republick*. By this falſe Modeſty he ſucceeded in all his Deſigns; and it was not over-hard for him to deceive *Auguſtus*, who oftentimes ſwore; *That he adopted* Tiberius *only for the good of the Empire*. He pray'd to the Gods *to take care of him, unleſs they abhorred the* Roman *People*; and wrote to him; *Provided you are well, Generous* Tiberius, *they need not at all be concerned how I do; preſerve your ſelf only to preſerve us, ſeeing the loſs of you, will be the loſs of the Common-wealth*. Notwithſtanding he came to repent of the adoption he had made; and it is likely he began to know him when he wrote, *Unhappy the People who ſhall fall under ſuch heavy Jaws*.

After this Adoption and theſe Praiſes, he had recourſe to his Policy, and it never failed him at need. Thus he was no ſooner adopted but he employed all his Arts to render himſelf agreeable to all the World. To advance his pernicious Deſigns, *Livia* entertained her Husband *Auguſtus* with poiſoned Figs, for fear he ſhould recall *Agrippa Poſthumus*, who was murthered at the

ſame

ſame time, either by her own or her Son *Tiberius*'s order. But that ſhe might not be ſuſpected of ſo great a crime, and to diſperſe the diverſe Reports that went of it, he ordered that *Auguſtus*'s Memory ſhould be ſacred; and cauſed a Man to be condemned to Death, for having permitted ſome Honours to be given him, the ſame Day that they had been before given to this Emperor. He would alſo have all thoſe condemned who ſhould be ſo inſolent, as to whip a Slave near *Auguſtus*'s Statue, or change their Gowns there, or wear in publick or private Baths, Rings and Money with his Face upon them. But this which he did for *Auguſtus* he did ſoon after for himſelf; and in complaiſance to him, his own Statues were held in ſo great veneration, that they were eſteemed more ſacred than thoſe of *Jupiter Olympius*; and a Maſter was condemned to Death for being ſo bold as to chaſtize a Slave who had fled for refuge to a little piece of Money, on which this Tyrant's head was ſtamped.

It was not till after the Death of *Agrippa Poſthumus*, that the Death of *Auguſtus* was publiſhed; and as if the violence of his Grief, which he expreſſed by Tears and Sighs, had taken from him all power to read the Memoire which he had brought into the Senate, he put it into the Hands of his Son *Druſus*. Theſe Words were found in the Teſtament which was opened. *Seeing my Children* Caius *and* Lucius *are unfortunately dead, I make* Tiberius *Heir of the half, and of the ſixth part of my Goods.*

For fear leſt *Germanicus*, who was almoſt adored by the *Romans* and Foreigners, and had the command of the beſt Legions, might render ſuſpected, or fruſtrate that Ambition which devoured him, he failed not handſomely to conceal it: And as he was always cunning, he deſired to know how the People and the Magiſtrates ſtood affected on this occaſion. Having made ſome Members of the Senate to preſs him to take upon him the Government of the Empire, he anſwered with a ſeeming Modeſty; *That he could judge of the difficulties, the diſquiets and the toils which were inſeparable from this Government, ſeeing that* Auguſtus *had entruſted him with*

all his ſecrets; but that ſo great an Authority ought to be divided. Aſinius Gallus, who knew his inſide, and who had married his firſt Wife *Vipſania Agrippina*, ask'd him, *What part of the Empire he would take?* Without diſcovering the leaſt ſurprize or anger, he anſwered with an Hypocriſie which was but too natural to him, *That leaving the Government of the Empire to others, it would not be decent for him to chuſe any part of it.* At the ſame time a Citizen cry'd out, *Let him either take it or leave it.* But the boldneſs which they had taken, afterwards coſt them their Lives. In this deplorable extremity being raviſhed, that the cowardly and timerous Senators redoubled their Addreſſes, he ſaid at laſt, *That he took upon him the charge of the Common-wealth for the ſake of the Common-wealth: That notwithſtanding he did not take this charge upon him, but on condition that they would one Day releaſe him from it, and give ſome repoſe to his old age.*

Afterwards he ceaſed not to complain of all his ailments (altho' in truth he had none) to the end *Germanicus*, whom he had been forced to adopt by *Auguſtus's* order, might more patiently wait for the Empire, of which all the World thought him worthy. But when the love of the People, and the vertues of this Prince increaſed his Fears and his Jealouſies, he uſed all his skill to diſparage his Inclinations, his Victories and Conduct; but that having not his deſigned effect, he gave *Piſo* order to Poiſon him, *(a)* which *Piſo* failed not to execute.

After this Murther, which put all the People in deſpair, he would be no longer at the pains to conceal his Vices; and experience ſoon diſcovered that he had always been Covetous, whatſoever *Dio* and *Tacitus* may have ſaid of him; and *Velleius Paterculus*, who was a notorious flatterer of him, deſerves no credit to his Teſtimony. Indeed he was never found liberal but once, when having equipped three Fleets of War, he paid the firſt 15000 Crowns, the ſecond 10000, and the third 5000

(a) De corde Germanici, Plin. *l.* 11. *c.* 37.

5000, and this Money was taken out of *Auguſtus*'s Coffers. It is true that he lent the People of *Rome* 2015000 Crowns without Intereſt; diſtributed the ſame ſum amongſt particular Men; and gave a bloody Combat of 1000 Gladiators in one Day. But he did not perform the two firſt Actions until he was compelled to it by the neceſſities of the Times, the cries and the importunities of the People. What appearance was there of that Mans ever being magnificent or liberal, who, when by his order, they ſerved up to him from one Meal to another Meat half eaten, would ſay, *That it was as delicious as when it was ſerved up at firſt whole?* Who was ſo far from perpetuating his Name by Buildings, which might contribute to the great beauty or the conveniency of the City, that he would not ſo much as finiſh the Temple of *Auguſtus*, nor repair *Pompey*'s; Who gave no other reward but Diet to thoſe who accompanied him in his Voyages, or Military Expeditions; Who thro' ſcandalous Avarice retrenched what *Auguſtus* had left the Soldiers by his Will; Who made Life uneaſie to *Cneius Lentulus*, worth above ten Millions of Crowns, becauſe he thought he lived too long; and who would have him by all means declare him his Heir before his Death? He uſed others as he had done *Cneius Lentlus*; and he was not contented to take from private Perſons and from Cities, the right and privilege of taking out of Mines thoſe Metals which were uſed in Commerce. He alſo confiſcated all that belonged to the principal Men of *Greece*, *Syria*, *Spain* and the *Gauls*, upon this weak and ridiculous Reaſon, *Becauſe part of their Eſtate was in Money*; and put to death *Vonones* King of the *Parthians*, becauſe he underſtood that he had carried a conſiderable Treaſure to *Antioch*, where this King, who had been expelled by his Subjects, had put himſelf under the protection of the *Romans*.

(a) His Drunkenneſs made as great a noiſe as his Ava-

(a) *Inſtead of* Tiberus Nero, *he was ſurnamed* Biberius Mero. *V. Aurel. Victor. Epit.* Plin. *l.* 14. *c.* 22. Sueton. *c.* 41.

Avarice, and his first Campaigns were signalized by his Debauches. After he saw himself at liberty, and more absolute, he did that in the sight of all the World which before he durst not do but in secret: In his Censorship he spent a Night and two whole Days in drinking with *Lucius Piso* and *Pomponius Flaccus*, whom he called *his Friends at all Hours and all Seasons*, and rewarded on of them with the Government of *Rome*, and the other with the Government of *Syria*. At a great Entertainment he invited *Claudius Sextius*, who was a very sensual and debauched old Man, whom *Augustus* had marked with some infamy, and whom he himself had rebuked in full Senate some Days before he invited him to his Table; and he invited him on condition that he should take the freedom of his Humour; and that during Supper they should be served by naked Women. A drunkard who drank a (*a*) prodigious quantity of Wine to him at a Feast, was at the same instant preferred by him to the Treasurer's Office, before Persons of the greatest merit; and by a capricio, which those that knew him could not but be astonished at, he gave 5000 Crowns for a Dialogue wherein *Asellius Sabinus*, had made a contest betwixt the Orator and the Mushroom, the Oyster and the Thrush.

The most abominable Lusts were the delight of his Heart and his Eyes; and to excite his brutality by his Sight and Imagination, in the Isle of *Capræa*, now *Capri* in the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, which he was not able to leave any more, he had in certain Chambers, Seats for a use which Modesty obliges me to say nothing of. He had young Men and young Women brought into these Chambers, who without distinction, and without shame, abandoned themselves to all manner of obscene Actions before him: As if this had not been enough, he had several Chambers set out with Pictures and Statues which represented the foulest things in Nature; and Books of most infamous Amours were added to

(*a*) *History saith* 18 *Quarts.*

to theſe Pictures and Statues, to convey by the Eyes the Images of the moſt horrible Luſts. In the Woods which he choſe to walk in, he had cauſed ſome places to be dug, where Men diſguiſed like Fawns, Silvanes, or Satyrs, ſatisfied their Luſts with Girls dreſſed like Nymphs, whom they took by force. To make theſe Crimes honourable, he created in his Family an Office *Of the Inventer of new Pleaſures*, and *Titus Cæſonius Priſcus*, a *Roman* Knight, was put into it. In a Chapter of *Suetonius*, there are things mentioned which can't be read without horror; but it will not be taken amiſs that I conceal thoſe particulars, which modeſt Perſons would paſs over.

His Cruelty came not behind his other Vices; and altho' he owed all his Fortune to his Mother *Livia*, he conceived ſuch an averſion to her, becauſe being one Day ill uſed by him, ſhe reproached him with his Ingratitude, that in three Years he never viſited her but once; and he would not permit the leaſt Ceremony at her Funeral. He had no more conſideration for his Wife, whom *Auguſtus* had baniſhed for her Debaucheries, and was ſo far from relieving her under her Calamity, that he took her Goods from her, and would not give her the Liberty to go out of her Houſe. His Son *Druſus*'s Death did not all affect him; and when the *Trojan* Ambaſſadors, who came a little late indeed, ſpake to him to comfort him for his loſs, he anſwered ſmiling, *That he was alſo much afflicted for that of* Hector. Some believe that he was even the Author of the death of his only Son. But it is more juſt to give credit to thoſe who report that *Sejanus* poiſoned him, having firſt debauched his Wife, to revenge himſelf of a box on the Ear, which he received of this Brute. However it is no leſs true, that before *Tiberius* was informed of this Love Intreague, he would have poiſoned *Livia* the Wife of his Son *Druſus*; and that after ſhe had complained to him of it, he cauſed her to be ſo cruelly whipt that even one of her Eyes was torn out. Underſtanding that ſhe intended to ſtarve her ſelf to death after this barbarous uſage, he commanded they ſhould thruſt Victuals down her Throat by force, and killed

her that way. He would have alſo her Birth-day be ranked amongſt the unfortunate Days; and permitted the *Romans* to return him thanks, and make a preſent in the Capitol, for not cauſing her to have been ſtrangled, or thrown to the Butchers Garbage.

He had no more compaſſion or indulgence for *Sejanus*, who from a Colonel of his Guards, came at laſt to be his chief Miniſter, and was ſo impudent as to demand in Marriage, for himſelf, the Widow of his Son *Druſus*, and had the diſpoſal of all Places and Offices. He ſaw at length his Statues adored on the Theatres, in the Armies and publick Places; his Birth-day ranked amongſt the *Roman* Feſtivals; and his Inſolence grew ſo great, that he was pleaſed to call *Tiberius*, *The Governor of* Capræa. This was none of the worſt Actions of this Emperor, who did no good ones, and who gave good Proof that he was yet more crafty than he: Indeed he ſuſpected him with reaſon enough; and having given him advice from *Capræa*, that he declared him Tribune, by a Letter which he wrote to the Senate, *Macro*, who was the bearer of it ſeized him, and at laſt this Favourite, who was pliant, cunning, popular, bold, liberal, magnificent, and who had all the qualities of a Uſurper, was condemned; ſome of his Friends were torn in pieces, and there were 1000 Perſons on ill grounded Suſpicions put to Death in one Day. *Sejanus*'s unfortunate Children had their Father's fate, and the Executioner defloured their Siſter *Sejania* before he ſtrangled her, becauſe Cuſtom did not permit Virgins to be put to Death.

Tiberius, who never wanted handſom pretences, publiſhed that he had taken this revenge of *Sejanus*, becauſe he contemptuouſly treated the Sons of *Germanicus*, whom he ſeriouſly recommended to the Senate, by Letters, wherein he declared, that their ſafety was no leſs dear to him than his own. But underſtanding that they had inſerted their Names with his in the publick Prayers, he invented a thouſand Calumnies againſt them and their Mother *Agrippina*; and having ſpared nothing to render the Conduct of this Princeſs and her Sons

Sons odious, (*a*) he ſtarved to death this illuſtrious Lady with her two Sons *Nero* and *Druſus*, who eat even the Flocks of his Bed. His cruelty was alſo ſo great, that he would not ſo much as permit their Aſhes to be put in *Auguſtus*'s Sepulchre.

Being ſurprized that a Fiſherman had aſcended into his Iſle of *Capræa* by ways which he thought were not to be found, he ordered his Face to be torn with the Fiſh which he came to preſent him with. They repeated this Puniſhment with a Lobſter, becauſe this Wretch thinking to do well, excuſed himſelf that he was not able to bring one of a prodigious bigneſs. He put a Soldier to Death for ſtealing a Peacok from him; a Guide for not having conducted his Litter well; an Hiſtorian for writing that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were the laſt of the *Romans*; a Grammarian for asking what Books he uſed to read; a Poet for having ſpoken ill of *Agamemnon*. All theſe Murders ſeemed ſuch trivial things to him, that he look'd on them only as ſlight Puniſhments which he impoſed on the curious and imprudent, and ſometimes he delayed the execution of thoſe who were weary of Life. When he was told that *Carvilius*, or *Carnulius* had killed himſelf, he cry'd out, *Carvilius hath eſcaped from me!* As he went to ſee all the condemned Perſons in the Priſons, and one of them deſired him to haſten his death, he anſwered, *That he was not enough in his Favour*; becauſe it is indeed a (*b*) ſort of Mercy, not to make the miſerable languiſh; and the time which precedes the puniſhment is the greateſt part of the puniſhment it ſelf. In fine, ſo great was the inhumanity of this Tyrant, who not only watched for occaſions to deſtroy the beſt Men, but alſo held all Perſons for Criminals who durſt lament the death of their Servants, their Maſters, their Fathers, their Children,

(*a*) Sueton. *in* Tib. *c.* 53, 54. *In* Caligula, *c.* 7. Tacit. *Annal.* 5. Dio. *l.* 58. (*b*) *Crudelitas eſt quæ trahit poenam. & miſericordiæ genus eſt, cito occidere: quia tormentum ultimum ſui finem affert; quod antecedit tempus maxima venturi ſupplicij pars eſt.* Seneca *de Benef. l.* 2. *c.* 5.

dren, their Husbands. That he might leave no Poſterity behind him, he had a deſign to deſtroy his Grandſon *Tiberius*, becauſe he did not think him Legitimate; and he ſometimes ſaid, that Priam *was happy to have had five Children, and to have ſeen the death of them all.* He had reſolved to diſpatch *Caius* who ſucceeded him; but as he went to feed a Dragon which he kept, and finding him almoſt all eaten up by Piſmires, they admoniſhed him, *to beware of the multitude*, and ſoon after he fell ſick.

In this condition he would yet diſſemble, and being carried to *Miſena*, he continued his Debauches there; ſuppoſing that *Charicles* his Phyſician, who had asked leave to go abroad, had taken his Hand not ſo much to kiſs it as to feel his Pulſe; he ordered him to return to his place, and omitted nothing to teſtifie to the Company which he had invited to a great Feaſt, that he enjoyed perfect Health. Sometime after his Diſtemper increaſed upon him; and perceiving that his ſtrength failed, he pulled his Ring off of his Finger to give it one, and to ſee thereby, what might be the joy or ſorrow of others; but having put it on his Finger again by a ſecond Artifice, the People that were about him left him, and having called them in vain, he roſe from his Bed and fell down dead, the 16*th* of *March* A. M. 4008, *ab V. C.* 789. Some believe he was poiſoned by *Caius*; and others ſay he was ſtrangled with a (*a*) Pillow that was thrown on his Face.

He was carried from *Miſena* to *Rome*, where every one cry'd, *that he ought to be thrown into* Tyber; and they were very near refuſing him Burial: However he had a publick Funeral. Altho' he had given many things to the Soldiers, to the Veſtals and the People, by a Will which he had made two Years before he died, all People were extremely rejoiced at the Death of this Tyrant, *Who of a golden* (*a*) *had made an Iron Age*;

(*a*) *Macro intrepidus opprimi ſenem injectu multæ veſtis, jubet.* Tacit. *Annal. l.* 6. *ad fin.* (*a*) *It is againſt him theſe Verſes were made,* Aurea mutaſti Saturni ſecula, Cæſar,
Incolumi nam te, ferrea ſemper erunt.

Age; and who to make it believed that his Cruelties were advantagious to the Common-wealth, gave out, *That he cared not tho' he was hated, provided his Actions were approved.*

CHAP. VII.

CALIGULA.

Caius the Son of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, Daughter to *Vipſanius Agrippa* and *Julia* the Daughter of *Auguſtus*, was born on the laſt Day of *Auguſt* at *Antium*, or in the *Roman* Camp in *Germany*, according to ſome, in the Conſulſhip of his Father *Germanicus* and *Fonteius Capito*, A. M. 3983, *ab V. C.* 763. He reigned four Years wanting four Months, according to *Joſephus*; or three Years ten Months and eight Days according to (*a*) *Suetonius*. He was ſurnamed *Caligula* from a ſort of Hoſe which from his Youth he had accuſtomed himſelf to, in imitation of the common Soldiers; and by this Complaiſance, which was a meer whim in him, he made himſelf beloved. In the Inſcriptions and Medals he is named *C. Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus*, and the ſurname of *Caligula* is not found in them.

He had four Wives, *Claudia* or *Claudilla*, the Daughter of *M. Syllanus*, who died in Child-birth, before he was Emperor; *Cornelia Oriſtina*, or as *Suetonius* names her, *Livia Oreſtilla*; *Lollia Paulina*, Daughter of *M. Lollius*; and *Milonia Ceſonia*, Daughter of *Pomponius Orphitus* and of *Verſtilla*, who was brought to Bed of her in the eighth Month. As he was at the Wedding Supper of *Cornelia Oreſtilla*, and of young *Calpurnius Piſo*,

(*a*) *Vid.* Jul Nigron. *Genuens. Diſſert. De* Caliga *Veterum*, Martini Geir. *De* Hebræorum *ludu*, *c.* 15. Balduin. *De calceo antiquo*, *c.* 13.

Piſo, he ſaid to this latter, he ſhould take care how he medled with his Wife; and after he had taken her away from him, he gave out the next Day, that he had taken him a Wife after the manner of *Romulus* and *Auguſtus*: But he divorced her a while after, and ſent for *Lollia Paulina*, on a report that ſome body had made him, *That her Grandmother had been a great Beauty.* Her Husband *Caius Memmius*, who had been Conſul, had carried her into *Provence*, where he commanded an Army, returned with her to *Rome*, where *Caligula* was at that time, who no ſooner ſaw her, but was in love with her; and married her againſt *Memmius*'s Will, who expected not this injury. All Hiſtorians agree that this was a Lady of extraordinary Beauty; and *Pliny (a)* obſerves that ſhe was ſo ſplendid in her Cloths and Dreſs, that ſhe wore ſometimes upon her to the value of a Million, or as *Meurſius* will have it two Millions, in Pearls and precious Stones, which ſhe had, or had bought with her Eſtate. He grew weary of this lovely Woman, to marry *Milonia Ceſonia*, who was neither handſom nor young; who had alſo three Children, but was very voluptuous, and in her Careſſes had all the Charms that a brutiſh Man could wiſh for, ſo that he loved her always with a violent Paſſion, and had by her a Daughter named *Julia Druſilla*, whom he carried into the Temple of the Goddeſſes, and whom he put into the Arms of *Minerva*, to commit her Education and nurture to her. From her Childhood ſhe had ſuch an inclination to Cruelty, that ſhe took no greater pleaſure than to ſcratch with her Nails the Faces of her Play-fellows, and to put out their Eyes.

He was of a large Stature, he had light Hair, the Crown of his Head bald, a high, large and wrinkled Forehead, a fix'd and fierce look, hollow Eyes, ſinking Temples, a pale Complexion, a great Belly, a Foot of an extraordinary bigneſs, his Neck and his Legs ſlender, his Body was all over hairy; and for this reaſon it was as much as a Mans Life was worth to call him Goat, or to

(a) *l.* 9. *c.* 15. Jo. Meurſius *de luxu* Romanorum, *c.* 4.

to look down upon him from a high place, becauſe he ſuſpected they choſe this place on purpoſe to behold his bald Head. Altho' he had a very frightful Face, yet he ſtudied certain fierce looks in a Looking-glaſs, to make himſelf more terrible in Company, and he would have Art ſhew that in his Countenance which Nature was aſhamed to diſcover. When he was young he was ſubject to the Falling-ſickneſs, fainting Fits, Oppreſſions of the Stomach; and was ſcarce ever free from ſome of theſe troubleſom Diſtempers. After he married *Ceſonia*, he could not ſleep above three Hours in a Night. His ſleep was alſo wont to be troubled with frightful Dreams; inſomuch that he often waited for the Day, ſometimes ſitting on his Bed, ſometimes walking under Porticoes; and it was believed that all theſe diſorders proceeded from a draught which *Ceſonia* had given him to make him love her.

(*a*) As he was uneven, ſullen and fantaſtical in his Temper, there was no obſerving ſteady Meaſures with him, for the ſame Day he approved and condemned a thing. When he was alone, he thought it ſtrange that People came not and made their Court to him; when they came in Companies to viſit him, he complained of the great numbers of Perſons who came to him; and he could neither endure Solitude nor Company. He called all thoſe who begged nothing of him miſtruſtful; and all thoſe who did ask any thing, importunate, and what middle courſe ſoever one could take, it was ſure to diſpleaſe him.

When it was known that he was about to bring the Body of *Tiberius*, and that he was already departed from *Miſena*, the People of *Rome* ran to meet him, and made him proceed in the midſt of this Funeral Pomp, between the Altars, the flaming Torches, and the Victims, as if he came to *Rome* in quality of a Triumpher. At his arrival nothing was heard but Exclamations of Joy: And *Macro* underſtood ſo dextrouſly to manage *Caligula*'s Fortune, that he cauſed *Tiberius*'s Will to be cancelled,

(*a*) Dio, *l.* 59. Sueton. *&c.*

celled, wherein he declared *Tiberius* the Twin his Succeſſor, whom his Son *Druſus* had by *Livia* Daughter of *Druſus Germanicus* and *Antonia* the Daughter of *Anthony* and *Octavia Auguſtus* Siſter. This Will was no ſooner Cancell'd, but the Senate put *Caligula* in poſſeſſion of the Empire, and this Action was held ſo juſt, that on all ſides nothing was heard but publick Prayers for the proſperity of *Caius Cæſar*; that in leſs than three Months, above 160000 Victims were ſacrificed. In a fit of ſickneſs which he had, the People watched continually about his Palace. Many alſo publiſhed, that they were ready to fight after the manner of Gladiators *for the health of* Caius; and there were ſome who poſted it up in all the Streets, that they would voluntarily expoſe themſelves to Death if it pleaſed the Gods to preſerve him. To all theſe marks of Love, that they might add thoſe of an extraordinary Reſpect, it was ordained, that a golden Buckler ſhould be dedicated to him; that the Prieſts accompanied with the Senators, and followed by Children of noble Families, to ſing Verſes to his glory, ſhould every Year carry this Buckler to the Capitol; and the Day of *Caius*'s Birth ſhould be ſtiled *The ſecond birth of* Rome. Strangers pay'd no leſs Honour to him; and *Adwan* or *Artaban*, the King of the *Parthians*, who abhorred *Tiberius*, and who in ſome Letters had even reproached him with his lewdneſs and his Murthers, no ſooner had heard of *Caius*'s Fortune, but he omited nothing to gain his Favour; and in reſpect to him, paſſed the *Euphrates* to adore the *Roman* Eagles.

He was skilful in Muſick, and had an excellent Voice. He was wonderfully dexterous at fencing, dancing and driving a Chariot, which was an accompliſhment among the *Romans*; and his Hiſtorians have wondered, that having ſo great a diſpoſition for all things that he would underſtand, he never would learn to ſwim. He underſtood the Greek Tongue very well; and he had a certain Art of perſwading, with ſo great force, that it was almoſt impoſſible to reſiſt his Eloquence. If he was never ſo little warmed in his Speeches, he found all the proper Figures and Words, to make im-

impreſſions of Anger or Pity, on the Minds of thoſe whom he would move; and there was no Paſſion wherewith he did not inſpire his Auditors when it ſerved his Deſign. Every body admired his preſence of Mind; and when this Prince would ſhew that he was no leſs ingenious nor knowing than the greateſt Men at the Bar, he anſwered their publick Pleadings by ſomething written, and never failed to overthrow that which they believed they had moſt ſolidly eſtabliſhed. An over ſtudied Stile did not pleaſe him; and he compared that of *Seneca* the Philoſopher *to Sand without Mortar*, becauſe there was no connexion in it.

To deceive with falſe vertue the *Romans* who look'd on him, as a new God, he pay'd the laſt Duties to *Tiberius*; praiſed him publickly, and teſtified by Tears and Sighs, that he was grieved to the Heart for his Death. He went afterwards into the Iſle of *Pontia*, now *Pongia*, which is in the entrance of the Bay of *Mola* and *Gayetta*; into the Iſle of *Pandateria*, which is *Pianoſa* in the Bay of *Pouzolo*; and after he had gathered up the Aſhes of *Nero* and *Agrippina*, with a kind of devotion, and ſent them to *Rome*, he cauſed them to be placed with great Ceremony in the *Mauſolæum* of *Auguſtus*. To this Piety he added particular Honours, and being not ſatisfied, that he had ordained nothing to the memory of *Agrippina* but *Circenſian* Plays, in which her Effigies was to be carried in an open Chariot, he would have the name of *Germanicus* be given to the Month of *September*, and that his Grandmother *Antonia* ſhould partake with *Livia* in the Title of *Mother of the Country*. In his Conſulſhip he choſe his Uncle *Claudius* for his Collegue; adopted *Tiberius*, ſurnamed the *Twin*, the ſame Day that he put on the Virile Gown, and obliged the Soldiers and Officers, the Senators and the other Magiſtrates to ſwear for the time to come after this manner, *My own and my Childrens ſafety ſhall never be more dear to me than that of* Caius *and his Siſters.*

After theſe marks of Love and Piety, which he ſhewed to his Kindred, he was not wanting to give the People many more of his Gratitude and Tenderneſs. He commanded that the Informations which had been

made

made againſt his Mother *Agrippina*, and againſt his Brothers *Nero* and *Druſus*, ſhould be publickly brought, and calling the Gods to witneſs that he had had the curioſity to read them (which was falſe) he cauſed them to be burnt. One having brought him a Note to give him warning that there was a deſign to murder him, he would not receive it, anſwering, *That he had done nothing to make himſelf hated; and that Informers ſhould never be well received by him.* Having reſolved to drown all Perſons in general convicted of certain Crimes, which I ought not, neither am I able to name, he was all of a ſuddain prevailed on, by the Intreaties of his Friends, and was contented to baniſh them at a great diſtance from *Rome*. He permitted that the Writings of *Titus Labienus*, *Codrus Cremutius*, and *Caſſius Severus*, which had been before ſuppreſſed for their too great Liberty, ſhould be expoſed to ſale; leſt ſaid he, *The Truth ſhould be concealed from thoſe who love it, and leſt Poſterity ſhould regret the loſs of ſuch excellent Works.*

By an unparallel'd Generoſity, he would have the Magiſtrates (notwithſtanding all the Remonſtrances that were made him) to judge finally of publick and private Affairs, and no appeal to be made from them; the People to have their Voices free in the Election of Magiſtrates; the greateſt part of the Taxes to be aboliſhed; unfortunate innocent Perſons to be releaſed out of the Priſons, and even the Guilty to be pardoned. Remembring that *Herod Agrippa*, Son of that *Ariſtobulus*, whom *Herod* had put to death with his Brother *Alexander*, had heretofore wiſhed him the Empire, he honourably releaſed him out of the place where he had been ſix Months detained; and inſtead of the Iron Chain with which *Tiberius* had loaded him, he gave him a golden one of the ſame weight, which *Agrippa* placed in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, to teſtifie his thanks to God for ſo unexpected a favour. He did no leſs for *Antiochus*, for he not only put him again in poſſeſſion of *Syria*, *Comagene*, but reſtored to him 2500000 Crowns which had been Confiſcated from him by the Avarice of *Tiberius*. To ſhew that he did not look on commendable Actions with an indifferent Eye,

Eye, he gave 2000 Crowns to a freed Man, becauſe Tortures could not make him ſay the leaſt thing againſt his Maſter, who was accuſed of a Crime.

Altho' *Tiberius*'s Will was made void by the Senate, yet he paid all the Legacies that were given by this Will, and did the ſame for *Livia* which he did for *Tiberius*. To this payment he added many Graces in favour of the People; and at divers times gave them Gifts which amounted to prodigious Sums. He twice entertained the Senators, their Wives and Children; and by very conſiderable Preſents gave all of them marks of his good Will and Eſteem. To gain the People, he gave ſeveral Shews and Turnaments; but in ſo uncommon a manner, that the whole Cirque was covered ſometimes with Soldiers of Gold and Vermillion. He finiſhed *Pompey*'s Theatre; the Temple which *Tiberius* had dedicated to the Memory of *Auguſtus*; made Havens and Ports at *Reggio* and in *Sicily*, for the more convenient entrance of Ships which came in thither laden with Corn from *Egypt*; began a wonderful Aquæ-duct at *Tivoli*, raiſed the Walls of *Syracuſe*, and propoſed to join the *Jonian* and the *Ægæan* Seas, by cutting thro' the famous Iſthmus which ſeparates them.

But theſe Vertues, which were no more than counterfeit, could not very long hide his Vices, which were natural to him, and he thought the *Romans* were not worth the pains which he took to diſguiſe himſelf. His Envy and his Malice brake out when he pulled down the Statues of the greateſt Men, which *Auguſtus* had brought from the Capitol into the Field of *Mars*; when he took away the ancient marks of Honour from the moſt illuſtrious Families, as *the Chain of Gold* from that of *Torquatus*, and the ſurname of *Great* from *Pompey*.

He was like to have taken out of the Libraries, the Statues and Works of *Virgil* and *Livy*; *becauſe*, as he ſaid, Virgil *had no Wit*; *and* Livy *ſaid many trivial things, and oftentimes ſpoke not the Truth.* From the Poets and Hiſtorians, he ſoon paſſed to the Lawyers; purpoſed to ruin all their Schools, and ſaid, *That he would bring it to paſs, that they ſhould not be able to anſwer any more, but upon Matters that ſhould appear juſt to*

common Senſe. People that were handſom found no better treatment than the Learned; and whenſoever he met any who had a good Face, he cauſed the hinder part of their Heads to be ſhaved to make them ridiculous. In the publick Games he obſerved one *Eſius Proculus*, ſurnamed *Coloſſus*, for the largeneſs of his Stature; he ordered him to go out, becauſe he ſurprized all the People with his good appearance and his beauty; and forced him to fight with two famous Gladiators, of whom he got the better. He immediately after commanded this gallant Man, who had given ſuch Proofs of his Strength, Courage and Skill, to be bound; to be diſguiſed in a pitiful habit, and in this condition to be led thro' all the Streets, and then his Throat to be cut. Being angry that the People clapped their Hands in favour of a Fencer, who acquitted himſelf well in a Combat, he went out, ſaying ſeveral times, *That they did not ſo much admire him as a Gladiator.*

After he had expreſſed ſo great a veneration for his Kindred, he could no longer endure it ſhould be ſaid, that he was of the Family of the *Cæſars*; and being not contented to blacken the memory of *Tiberius*, he in full Senate expreſſely forbid the *Romans* to celebrate the Victories which *Auguſtus* had gained in *Epirus* and *Sicily, becauſe they were grown fatal to the Common-wealth.* He called *Livia*, the Wife of *Auguſtus*, *A* Ulyſſes *diſguiſed like a Woman*; reproached her alſo with the baſeneſs of her Birth; and by his Contempts that he put upon her, or as others ſay, by Poiſon, he haſten'd the death of his Grand-mother *Antonia*, for whom, before, he was for procuring the Title of *Mother of the Country.*

He had indeed a violent Paſſion for his three Siſters *Agrippina*, *Druſilla* and *Livilla*; but this Paſſion had been more decent had it been leſs violent: The truth is, he was no ſcrupulous Perſon; and to judge of his Opinion by his Actions, he muſt have believed, that Brothers might take the ſame liberties with their Siſters that Husbands do with their Wives. He was yet leſs reſerved, and when he had received from *Agrippina* and *Livilla*, all that he could expect from thoſe that were not ſo near to him, he ſhamefully proſtituted them to

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ſome of his Confidents. After he had been the Author, Accomplice, and Witneſs of their Crimes, he baniſhed theſe two Princeſſes, and ſometimes wrote to them, *That he had not only given them the Iſles, but he had alſo Poinards to offer them.* As for *Druſilla* he treated her not as the other two, for after he had taken her from her Husband *Caſſius Longinus*, who had been Conſul, he kept her in his Palace as if ſhe had been his Wife; and after her Death commanded the Mourning ſhould be publick; during which it was as much as a Man's Life was worth to laugh, to bath, or to ſup with his Wife, Children, Father or Mother. Afterwards he ſwore by no other name but by that of *Druſilla*, in his Orations to the Soldiers or People. The Senate it ſelf was poor Spirited enough to conſecrate a Statue to both of them, and to decree that the Birth-day of this Lady, who was her Brother's inceſtuous Whore, ſhould be celebrated with as much Pomp and Ceremony as that of *Auguſtus's*. He had a long time an inclination for a common Whore named *Pyrallis (a)*; but as he loved variety better than he did this Whore, he often invited to Supper the greateſt Ladies of *Rome* with their Huſbands. When any one was ſo unfortunate to pleaſe him, he had her out of the Banquetting-room, and after he had ſatisfied his Luſt returned with her again, and in preſence of her Husband and the Gueſts, gave a particular account of her blemiſhes or beauties; of her Body, and wherein her Charms lay, or wherein ſhe was diſagreeable. To divorce any of them he made uſe of the name and abſence of their Husbands, and cauſed the Letters of Divorce to be regiſtred. When he expoſed them naked to the Eyes of his Confidents he dealt no worſe with them than he did with his Wife *Ceſonia*, whom he ſhewed in the ſame condition to all his Friends. He had other Luſts as Criminal as his Inceſts and his Adulteries; and thoſe Men who proſtituted themſelves to this Brute, did no more for him than what he did for them and others.

From Modeſty he paſſed to a ridiculous Vanity, or to ſpeak more properly, after lucid Intervals he fell in-

(a) *She was rank'd among the Goddeſſes, as may be prov'd from Medals*

to a horrible Madneſs: For fear the Title which they choſe for him ſhould not ſufficiently anſwer his Merit and his Vertue, he took what he pleaſed for himſelf, and named himſelf, *The Beſt and the Greateſt* Cæſar; *the Son and the Father of Armies.* Some Kings one Day diſputing, in his preſence, of the Antiquity of their Race, he ſaid, *That all the World ought to have but one King*; and he was like to have put on the Diadem. Not to linger in ſo fine a way, he gave command that the fineſt Statues of *Greece*, particularly that of *Jupiter Olympius*, which was the Workmanſhip of *Phydias*, ſhou'd be brought to *Rome*, that taking off their Heads he might have his own ſet upon them. Not being contented to go and lodge in the Capitol, to be *Jupiter*'s Rival or Companion there at leaſt, he cauſed a Temple to be dedicated to him in his Palace, to be worſhipped there alone, and would alſo have the Paſſage to it thro' the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, which he order'd to be open, *that* Jupiter's *Sons might be his Porters.* Leſt he ſhould not be ſerved according to his Deſire, himſelf became his own Prieſt; choſe for his Collegues *Ceſonia* and his Uncle *Claudius*, the richeſt and moſt conſiderable Perſons of *Rome*, and each of them was obliged to give him 250000 Crowns for this Office. How dear and honourable ſoever it was, he promoted his Horſe to it *gratis*, which he had a deſign to make Conſul, lodg'd him in a Marble Stable; gave him his Meat in Veſſels of Gold and Ivory; adorned him with purple Coverings, and a Bridle String with Jewels; and aſſigned him a Houſe with Furniture and Stairs. In the Temple which he built, and ſolemnly conſecrated, he cauſed Peacocks, *Numidian* Fowls, and all Birds that were rare for their Feathers, to be ſacrificed to him, and they were to be all of different kinds. When the Moon was full he invited her to come and paſs a Night with him; and when he one Day asked *Vitellius*, who knew him, and for this Reaſon feared him, *if he had ſeen him embrace the Moon?* he anſwered him very ſeriouſly, *It is permitted to none but Gods, as you are, to entertain themſelves after this manner.*

But

But this new God feared the Thunder; and at the leaſt flaſh of Lightning, or noiſe of Thunder, he was wont to ſhut his Eyes, and cover his Head with his Gown, and to go out of Bed and hide himſelf under it. if the noiſe redoubled never ſo little. It is true, as ſoon as it was over, and the Thunderbolt fall'n as he thought, he made uſe of great Engines, made by his Order, with which he flung Stones of a prodigious bigneſs againſt Heaven; and defying Jupiter cry'd out, *Either deſtroy Me, or I will not fail to deſtroy Thee.* He ſent *Petronius*, into *Judæa*, with Order to dedicate the Temple of *Jeruſalem to the Illuſtrious* Caius, or *to the new Jupiter*, and directed him to gild the Beard, and to arm the Hand with a Thunderbolt. But becauſe it was alſo eaſie to repreſent all the Gods and Goddeſſes in his Perſon, he carried ſometimes a *Trident* as *Neptune*; a *Wand* as *Mercury*; a *Harp* as *Apollo*; a *Helmet*, on which ſparkled a Star, as *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; a *Spear* and *Buckler* as *Mars*; and a *Club* as *Hercules*. Sometimes he dreſſed himſelf like *Venus*, with a Myrtle Garland; and ſometimes like *Diana*, with a *Creſcent* on the top of his Forehead, and *Javelin* in his Hand, and a *Quiver* hanging on his Shoulders. Thus equipp'd he took the utmoſt Familiarities with his Siſters, and ſet himſelf on the Tribunal to adminiſter Juſtice to the People of *Rome*. When he was neither God nor Goddeſs, he wore a hanging Cloak, embroyder'd with Gold, precious Stones and Pearls, and other Cloaks of a looſe Stuff like Crape, which drew on the Ground like Womens. He dreſs'd himſelf in Silk Gowns, with long Sleeves and Shoulder-pieces hanging behind; wore Buskins which cover'd but half his Leg, and low Shoes ſet with Pearls. Sometimes he was for being a Brave with *Alexander*'s Corſlet, which had been taken out of this Conqueror's Tomb; but he went commonly with Triumphal Ornaments, *i. e.* with a Laurel or Gold Crown, an Ivory Stick, a purple embroider'd Robe, and a Coat wrought with Branches of Palms.

This Folly drew others after it; and it is to be believed, that he who took the Arms, the Authority, the Habits and the Names of the Gods, did not live at the

rate of other Men. Thus he had his *Ganymedes* whom he careſs'd, whilſt he made the moſt venerable Senators kiſs his Feet; and ſuffer'd ſome of them, clad in their long Robes, to run a-foot before his Chariot, to eat with his Slaves, and be in the ſame condition with thoſe who waited at his Table. To end as he began, he threw Gold and Silver, with full Hands, out of the Capitol, bathed himſelf in all ſorts of hot and cold Waters, whoſe Perfumes alone coſt him 5000 Crowns. He diſſolved rich Pearls, and when they were become liquid drank them off; and cauſing Bread and Meat, all of Gold, to be ſerved up at his Feaſts, ſaid, *That he muſt be either a good Husband or a* Cæſar: This was not all, for he thought fit to build Frigots, whoſe Poops were ſet with Jewels and Pearls, and the Sails of rich and different Colours. In theſe Frigots, which were of Cedar Wood, there were Stoves and Galleries; Vines and great Fruit-trees, which afforded him Shade, more commodiouſly to Coaſt along the Campanian Shore, and to paſs whole Days with excellent Muſick. We may eaſily believe that the Houſes which he built about *Rome* were very magnificent, ſince it was his greateſt Pleaſure to perform things which all the World look'd on as impoſſible: In the Sea he raiſed Moles of Earth, and with incredible diligence levelled Mountains with Vallies, Over the Arm of the Sea which is betwixt *Pouzzolo* and *Bajæ*, he made a Bridge of Ships 3600 Paces long, which were faſtned one to another, and covered over with green Turf, that the paſſage might be more commodious; that they might the better fix Tents upon it, and more eaſily convey Water from the Fountains into theſe Tents. When this Work was finiſhed, he appeared with *Alexander*'s Armour, over which he had put a Silk purple Coat, glittering with Gold and precious Stones, with a Buckler, Coat of Arms, and a Garland of Oak-leaves. After having ſacrific'd to *Neptune* and *Envy*, *for fear*, ſaid he, *leſt he ſhould be diſturbed by them in his great Enterprizes*, he mounted on this new Bridge, marched againſt the City of *Bajæ* in the ſame Order as if he had marched againſt an Enemy's City. By a very fine Speech, which he made to

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thoſe who followed him with ſo great Courage, he enhaunced the viſible Dangers which they had run; praiſed their Courage and their Addreſs, and expreſſed a grateful Senſe of all the Fatigues which they had undergone to ſecure him a Victory of this importance: However he undertook this Work for no other end but to give dead *Tiberius* the lye; to whom the famous Aſtrologer *Thraſyllus* had anſwered, when he was heretofore enquired of by him concerning his Succeſſor, *That* Caius *ſhould be as little able to ſucceed him, as to gallop on Horſeback over the Arm of the Sea that ſeparates* Bajæ *from Pouzzolo.* He that ſhould reckon up all his Follies, would have a ſtrange Relation to make; and it is ſufficienr to note here, that he made (*a*) a Supper that coſt him above 250000 Crowns; and beſides the immenſe Sums that he ſquandred away, the Sixty ſeven Millions and a half of Gold which *Tiberius* left him, did not laſt him a whole Year (*b*).

In a Journey which he took to ſee the Wood and River of *Clitumnus*, near *Mevania*, he had a deſire to make War on the *Germans*, as the moſt valiant Nation of the World. After he had raiſed a great Army, diſmiſed ſeveral becauſe he thought them too old or too weak for ſo dangerous an Enterprize, and caſhier'd the Lieutenants who had been too ſlow in bringing him Auxiliary Troops, he contented himſelf to receive the Son of the King of the *Batavi*, *Adminius Cinobellinus*, who voluntarily ſurrendred himſelf. Being extremely afflicted that he met with no occaſions, as he wiſhed, to ſignalize his Strength and Courage, he thought fit to make ſome of his Guards paſs the *Rhine*, and having commanded them to hide themſelves when they were got on the other ſide of the River, he cauſed the alarm to be given, as if the Enemy had appeared. Im-

(*a*) *Centies Seſtertio cœnavit uno die.* Seneca *de Conſ. ad. Helv. c.* 9. *Sunt nobis* 250 *millia* Philippicum. Lipſius.

(*b*) Caligula *anno non toto prodegit Seſtercium tricies ad ter millies*, i. e. *centum ſexaginta quinque milliones. Meurs de luxu Romanorum, c.* 2.

mediately he with his Friends, and ſome Squadrons of Horſe, threw themſelves into a Foreſt, and after they had cut down ſeveral Trees, they all choſe the fineſt of their Boughs, of which he made them make Garlands of different figures, for thoſe who had followed him cloſeſt on ſo dangerous an occaſion; on the other hand, he ordered, that thoſe ſhould be cruelly puniſhed who had been ſo cowardly as to abandon him in this Danger. Whilſt he performed theſe great things with his Wife *Ceſonia*, who marched on his ſide with a Helmet and Buckler, he, by a ſolemn Edict, condemned the abſent Senate, *Who diverted themſelves in the Cirque, the Theatres, and at Feaſts, when* Cæſar *was expoſing his Life for the Safety and Glory of the* Roman *name.* This dreadful Conqueror ſeeing himſelf accompanied by Fortune, paſſed into the *Gauls*, where he aſſembled an Army of 250000 fighting Men; and as he propoſed to himſelf to chaſtize the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Brittain*, he ordered his Army to march to the Sea ſide: They were no ſooner Embark'd but he commanded them to Land, from a Throne which was raiſed for him on the Shore; he commanded all the Trumpets to ſound the Charge, and his Army to gather up Shells, which he had the confidence to ſend to *Rome* with great Ceremony, *as the Spoils of the Ocean, which were to ſerve for the Ornament of the Palace and the Capitol.*

All his prodigious Expences robb'd him of the pleaſure which he had taken in rowling himſelf on heaps of Gold; but that he might not loſe that Cuſtom, he omitted nothing that might inſpire him with Avarice and Cruelty. He would have Perſons of Quality buy Gladiators; and as one Day he had thirteen to expoſe to ſale, and *Aponeius Saturninus*, who had been Pretor, fell aſleep in the place where the publick cry was made; *Caligula*, who was preſent, admoniſhed him who ſet the price, *not to forget ſo great a Man, who by his Nod made a ſign to him with his Head.* The Crier, who took the intimation a-right, raiſed the thirteen Gladiators to 225000 Crowns; and *Saturninus* was no ſooner awake but they were delivered to him at this price. Being informed that certain People, whom he employ'd to in-

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vite Gueſts to his Table, had received of a very rich Provincial about 5000 Crowns to invite him, as if it had been by his Order, he had no ſooner eſpied him the next Day in a place where they ſold abundance of things, but he ſent ſome Trifles to him, for which he was to pay 5000 *(a)* Crowns, charging the Man who carried them to him, to tell him, *That he ſhould Sup this Evening with* Cæſar, *who was deſirous himſelf to invite him.* He took the Furniture, Pearls and Jewels, which had been left to *Rome* by the Emperors; made all that had been given to *Tiberius* by Will, to be paid to himſelf; ſought out all thoſe who had obtained publick Offices; and made a Journey into the *Gauls* for no other End but to pillage them. He permitted Slaves to accuſe their Maſters; gave them their Liberty for doing ſo; granted them alſo an Eighth part of the Eſtate of thoſe whom they had betrayed, and ſeized himſelf on all the reſt. At the birth of *Julia Druſilla* he complained that he had not a Revenue whereon to live like an Emperor, nor like a Father; and upon this complaint he received prodigious Sums for his Daughter's Dowry. By a publick Edict, which he publiſhed, he oblig'd all ſorts of People to give him New-years Gifts on the firſt Day of the Year; and on this ſame Day he ſtood at his Palace Gate, where every one put into his Hands, or into his Pockets what he brought. He laid Taxes on all things that were ſold at *Rome*; levy'd from the pooreſt People the Eighth part of their daily Gains; exacted the Fortieth of the Sum which was ſued for, whereſoever the Action was laid, and ſeverely puniſhed thoſe who compoſed their Differences by any other methods than thoſe of ordinary Juſtice. He drew a Tax from the Stews; and to profit by their Debaucheries, he had little Chambers built for them in the Palace, whither certain Perſons which he had choſen for this purpoſe, drew all the Youth in Companies to increaſe *Cæſar*'s Revenue. When old Men were rich, he dealt with

(a) Ducenta Seſtercia, Sueton *c.* 39. *Decem. mille Florenos. Meurs. de Luxu* Romanorum. *c.* 13.

with them after another manner, for he conſtrained them to give him their whole Eſtates by Will, afterwards ſent them poiſoned Victuals, and told them, *That it was a Jeſt for theſe good Men to live after they had conſtituted an Heir.* Having put to Death *Junius Priſcus*, Provoſt of *Rome*, in hope to poſſeſs his Wealth, he underſtood that he was poorer than was imagined, and therefore ſaid, *That* Junius Priſcus *had deceived him; that he might have lived longer if he would, ſince he had not enough to make his Death to be wiſhed for.* He loved Play to make advantage thereof by his Lies and Perjuries; and being one Day a looſer, and having put one in his place, he eſpied from the Portico, which was at the entrance of his Palace, two Gentlemen who were very rich, whom he ordered to be ſeized, and their Eſtates confiſcated; after which, returning to the Company which he had left, he boaſted *That he was come from making the beſt Caſt that ever he had made in his Life.*

His Cruelty was yet greater than his other Vices; and in the *Cæſars* of *Julian*, he is repreſented as *a wild Beaſt.* Some Hiſtorians ſay, that not being contented to give *Tiberius* a ſlow Poiſon, he thought fit to throw Coverlets upon him to ſtifle him, under pretence of doing him a good Office. He forced his Father-in-law *Syllanus* to cut his Throat with a Razor; *Becauſe*, as he ſaid, *he would not accompany him in a Voyage, that he might have an advantage of his abſence, and make himſelf Maſter of* Rome, altho' in truth, *Syllanus* wav'd this Voyage only to avoid the inconveniences of the Sea. Underſtanding that *Tiberius*, ſurnamed the *Twin*, uſed Antidotes, he ſaid, *How! Antidotes againſt* Cæſar! he commanded him to be ſlain; and he dealt no better with *Ptolomy* the Son of King *Juba*, who married the Daughter of *Cleopatra*, ſurnamed *Selene*, becauſe this young Prince entring into the Theatre with a ſplendid Robe, drew upon him the Eyes and Admiration of all the People. Altho' he abſolutely owed the Empire to the management of *Macro* and his Wife *Ennia*, loved this Lady with a violent paſſion; debauch'd her from her Husband, or the Husband, according to ſome, did not

ſcruple

ſcruple to proſtitute her to him; he put them, however, both to Death. He had two Books, one nam'd *The Sword*, and the other *the Poynard*; and in theſe Books he wrote the Names of the Senators and Knights whoſe ruin he had reſolved on. In his Coffers were found Poiſons of all ſorts, but ſo dangerous, that his Succeſſor *Claudius* having cauſed them to be thrown into the Sea, the Shore was covered with dead Fiſh. He commanded alſo, that thoſe who in his ſickneſs had made Vows to fight, or to expoſe themſelves to a voluntary Death, ſhould religiouſly obſerve their Promiſe, *becauſe he could not endure Perjuries.* Laughing heartily at a Feaſt, and two Senators very civilly asking him what he laughed at; *becauſe*, ſaid he, *I need only give the leaſt ſign to make you two cut one anothers Throats.* As he one Day viſited the Priſoners, whom he had order'd to be plac'd ſo that they might be numbred, and by chance the firſt and laſt of the Rank were bald; without examining whether they were Guilty, he commanded, *That they ſhould be all executed from bald Pate to bald Pate.* He deſtroyed *Getulicus* becauſe he had got a great reputation amongſt the Soldiers; and his Father-in-law *Lepidus* becauſe he began to ſuſpect him. Having been diſturb'd in his Sleep by the confuſed noiſe of thoſe who in the Night took their places in the Cirque, that they might more conveniently ſee the Plays, he commanded they ſhould be all whipp'd away; and in this diſorder there were above Twenty *Roman* Knights, and above Twenty Women of Quality kill'd in the preſs. He made Criminals be expoſed to wild Beaſts, which he fed in certain Parks with their Fleſh, when Oxen and Sheep were too dear; and becauſe a certain Gentleman cry'd out, *I am Innocent*, he commanded he ſhould be taken back; that his Tongue ſhould be cut out, and expoſed to the Beaſts a ſecond time. A Poet was burnt in the midſt of the Amphitheatre for a ſingle Verſe of an ambiguous Senſe, pronounced in a piece which he made for Diverſion; and it was common for him to uſe hot Irons, Saws, burning by ſlow Fires, or cutting aſunder the Bodies of thoſe who were not agreeable to him. He obliged even the Fathers to be preſent

ſent at the cruel executions of their Children; and one having endeavoured to excuſe himſelf by indiſpoſiton of Health, he ſent him a Litter, that he might have no reaſon to wave it. One Day he invited another to a Feaſt, when he came to be preſent at the death of his innocent Son; and at Table he drank to him with an unuſual gaiety, made him a Preſent of ſome Perfumes, and ſought all ways to make him laugh. Having ask'd a miſerable Man, whom he had recalled from a long Exile, what he did in his Diſgrace, and he anſwering, that he daily pray'd to the Gods to haſten the death of *Tiberius*, and to call *Caius* to the Empire: For fear leſt the unfortunate People, whom he had baniſhed, ſhould make ſome Prayers of the like nature, he ſent ſome to put them to Death. He would alſo have thoſe who were delivered to the Executioners to expire very ſlowly, *That they might feel themſelves die.* And as he knew that good Men abhorred him, he would often repeat, *Let them hate me provided they fear me.* At a Sacrifice, in a Frolick, he knock'd down him who was to cut the Victim in pieces; and as he play'd with a certain Gladiator, who fell down to divert him, he thruſt his Sword thro' his Body, and ran about with a Palm, the mark of Victory. His very Careſſes were cruel; and when he was with his Wife or Miſtreſſes, he never fail'd to ſay theſe tender Words to them, *When I pleaſe this fine Head ſhall be cut off*; and never omitted to tell *Ceſonia*, in the violence of his Paſſion, *That he would at laſt torture her to make her diſcover for what reaſon he loved her always with ſuch a Paſſion.*

They then remember'd that *Tiberius* was but too good a Prophet, when he ſaid, *That in breeding him he bred a Dragon*; and he had alſo ſaid to him, *Thou wilt kill* Tiberius *the Twin, and others will do as much for Thee.* To accompliſh this laſt Prediction, there were three powerful Parties formed againſt him; but of all thoſe who conſpired his Death, *Caſſius (a)*, ſurnamed *Cherea*, a Cap-

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(b) Vid. Sueton *m.* Calig. *c.* 57. Seneca *de Conſtantia ſapientis. c.* 18.

a Captain of his Guards, and of whom he had a caution given him, was the boldeſt and moſt reſolute, altho' *Caligula* deſpiſs'd him to the laſt degree; and when he gave him the Word, he always choſe that of *Venus* or *Cupid*, or a God whom I need not name, becauſe he thought him fitter for Love than any thing elſe. However, he convinced him of the contrary, and as *Caligula* came out of the Theatre the twenty fourth of *January*, *A. M.* 4012 to hear Muſick, *Caſſius* aſſaulted him, and gave him a great blow with his Sword. The Conſpirators, who had taken *Redouble* for their Word, hearing the Emperor cry out that he was not dead yet, redoubled it in earneſt; gave him Thirty blows, ſlew *Ceſonia*, and daſhed the Daughter in pieces againſt the Walls. Some of his Murtherers were kill'd by the *Germans* who were of his Guard; and his Body, which they carried very privately into the Gardens which belong'd to the *Lamis* (after it had been half burnt on a Funeral Pile that was haſtily raiſed) was covered afterwards with ſome green Turf: But he was lamented by none but by the Men of Buſineſs, to whom he had given an abſolute Power over the Eſtates of the chief Men of the whole Empire; and it was not eaſie for others to mourn for a Man who had been ſo Complaiſant to *Tiberius* and ſo Cruel to them who had made him their Emperor, that it was ſaid of him, *That there could not be a better Servant nor a worſe Maſter than he was.* Indeed it had been very ſtupid and unjuſt to regret the Death of a Prince who made a Preſent of 50000 Crowns to a Coachman for his New-Years Gift, and who condemned an innocent Citizen to gain the ſame Sum; who often complained that his Reign had not been ſignaliz'd by ſome dreadful Conflagration, an Earthquake, a Famine or a Plague; who wiſh'd, *That all the People of* Rome *had but one Head that he might cut it off at one ſtroke.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

CLAUDIUS.

Tiberius Claudius Druſus Germanicus (*a*), the Son of *Druſus Germanicus* and of *Antonia*, Daughter of *Mark Anthony* and *Octavia* Siſter to *Auguſtus*, was born in the Conſulſhip of *Julius*, or *Julus Antonius*, and of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, A. M. 3962. *U. C.* 743, He came to the Empire when he was Fifty Years old, according to *Dio*; reigned thirteen Years, eight Months and twenty Days, according to *Joſephus*; or fourteen Years according to *Suetonius*; lived Sixty four according to the latter, or ſixty two Years, two Months, according to ſome others,

He had ſix Wives, *Æmylia Lepida*, Grand-daughter of *Auguſtus*, and Daughter of that *Julia* who married *L. Æmylius Paulus* the Cenſors Son; *Livia Medullina*, ſurnamed *Camilla*, of the Family of that *Camillus* who triumph'd four times, and who was five times Dictator. After *Julia* he married *Plautia Urgulanilla*, the Daughter of *Plautus* (*b*) *Urgulanius*; *Ælia Petina*, of the Family of the *Tuberos*; *Valeria Meſſalina*, the Daughter of his Couſin-German *Meſſala the Bearded*; and *Julia Agrippina* his own Niece, the Daughter of *M. Vipſanius Agrippa*, and *Julia* the Daughter of *Auguſtus*. He was very young when he married the firſt, whom he divorc'd ſometime after, becauſe his Father-in-Law *Æmylius* had conſpired againſt *Auguſtus*; and *Livia Medullina* died her Wedding-day, before the marriage was conſummated. By the third he had a Son named *Druſus*, who at fourteen Years old was kill'd by a Pear, which he toſſed up

(*a*) *In Nummis at Inſcrip.* Ti. Cl. Druſi. F. Aug. Germanicus. *In* Dione. Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus.
(*b*) *De* Plautijs Silvanis Thomas Reineſius *Epiſtolar. lib. Epiſt.* 27. *p.* 106.

up in the Air to catch it in his Mouth, but which entred ſo far into his Throat, that it was impoſſible to pull it out. By the ſame Wife he had a Daughter named *Claudia*, who by his command was expoſed naked at her Mother's Gate, becauſe he believed her the Daughter of his Freed-man *Boterus*, altho' ſhe was born five Months before their Divorce. Indeed this *Ptantia Urgulanilla*, whom he was forc'd to divorce, was a Lady that was lewd enough, and there were few of her Gallants that complained of her Cruelty. By *Ælia Petina* he had *Antonia*, whom he gave in marriage to *Cneius Pompeius*, afterwards to *Fauſtus Sylla*, both of illuſtrious Birth. By *Meſſalina*, the lewdeſt of Woman-kind, he had *Octavia*, whom *Nero* married, notwithſtanding ſhe had been promiſed to *L. Junius Silanus*; he had alſo by her a Son, who was ſurnamed *Britannicus*, whom he loved very tenderly, and who was born on the twentieth Day of his Reign. *Thomas Reineſius* will have it that *Plautia Urgulanilla* was *Claudius*'s firſt Wife; *Ælia Petina* the ſecond; *Valeria Meſſalina* the third; and *Julia Agrippina*, the Widow of *Cneius Domitius* the fourth; and you may ſee what *Adam Rupert* hath writ upon it,

He had the corners of his Eyes ſtreak'd with little red Veins; of a large Stature; a Body well proportioned; a handſom Face; a Majeſtick Mien; and had he uſed no Speech nor Action, he might, without doubt, have been reckoned amongſt the fineſt Statues of *Rome*: But if he ſpoke, or put himſelf in Action never ſo little, his Hands and his Head trembled. His Hams bended as he walk'd, and he dragg'd his Leg as if he had been lame; his Voice was hoarſe and diſagreeable, and his Mouth full of Spittle, and his Noſe dropping. When he had ſomething to ſay to the Senate, he ordinarily made uſe of an Interpreter; becauſe the tone of his Voice ſhock'd Ears that were never ſo little delicate. He

(a) Claudio Cæſari *ab angulis candore carnoſo Sanguineis venis ſubinde ſuffuſi*, Plin. *l.* 2. *c.* 37. *V.* Sueton. *c.* 30. & Seneca *Apolocynt.*

He had a ſtronge paſſion for Women, Wine and good Cheer; he drank and eat to exceſs; was a great laugher, and laughed always with an ill-grace. They ſay alſo that he had ſome Infirmities which were none of the moſt decent; and that he often made a Report with a part which it is not modeſty to name. Being informed that a Man died by keeping in his Wind thro' ſhame, he intended to make a publick Edict, that Men might take that liberty in Company which often eſcapes from them; and that they might uſe it even at the Table. During his Youth he was almoſt always ſick, but afterwards he enjoyed perfect Health, only he complained of a pain in his Stomach, which was often times ſo violent, that he was ready to kill himſelf.

To conclude his Character, He was irreſolute and Credulous, Fearful and Cruel; and as he loved Wine and Women, it was not difficult to cheat him; for he gave without Conſideration and Judgment every thing that Women deſired of him; and he knew not what he did when he was Drunk. He had a very unhappy Memory; a very heavy Underſtanding, and ſo poor a Spirit, that he tamely took a Box i'th'Ear and a ſcourging from *Caligula*. When he did ill he followed his Inclination; when he did well he acted by a blind, or an external movement; and thoſe who received any Benefits from him were more oblig'd to his Stupidity, or their good Fortune, than to him.

His Mother, *Antonia*, called him a ſhameful Wen of Nature, a Monſter of a Man; and when ſhe would expreſs any one to be emphatically ſtupid, ſhe ſaid, *That he was a greater Sot than* Claudius. *Livia*, the fourth Wife of *Auguſtus*, made ſo little of him, that ſhe was aſham'd to ſpeak to him; and when his Siſter *Livilla* was told, *That he would one Day enjoy the Empire*, ſhe ſaid publickly, *That ſhe lamented the* Romans *if they were to have ſuch a Prince*. *Auguſtus*, who could not endure him, would not have him behold the *Circenſian* Games, even from the higheſt place, *Leſt*, ſaid he, *being perceived in this place he ſhould be ridiculed*; and it was with much-ado that he conſented to have him choſen Prieſt of the Augurs. His Uncle *Tiberius* gave him

him no more than the Conſular Ornaments; and *Claudius* preſſing him to permit him to exerciſe the Office, *Tiberius* wrote to him in contempt, *That he had made him a Preſent of forty Crowns to paſs the* Saturnalia, *and the Days call'd* Sigillares, in which the Ancients bought little Images of Gold, Silver, Copper, or Earth, wherewith they were wont to preſent one another. His Nephew *Caligula*, after he had made him Conſul, had a deſign to expell him with Infamy, for not having plac'd the Statues of his Brothers, *Nero* and *Druſus*, in the Rank which he ought to have given them. Some ſay, that he alſo commanded him to be thrown into a River, when he was in *Germany*, whither he had ſent for him to rejoice with him, after the diſcovery of the Conſpiracy of *Getlicus* and *Lepidus*; and that he would always have him give his Opinion the laſt in the Senate, as if his Counſel was nothing worth. If he walk'd in Company, or if he came a little too late to Supper, they took a pleaſure to make him walk about the Beds, before any one offer'd him a place; and as he never fail'd to ſleep after eating, they never fail'd to torment him, and to dart Olive and Date Stones at him. Some alſo ſtruck him and hid themſelves; wak'd him either with a Whip or a Wand; aud when he ſlept a ſound ſleep they put Buskins on his Hands, that waking on a ſuddain, he might rub his Face with them.

But Fortune, who has to do with every Thing, put him in a condition to make himſelf fear'd by thoſe who before deſpis'd him. Having been very ſhamefully turn'd out with a crowd of People, by the Accomplices of *Cherea*'s Conſpiracy, under a pretence that *Caius* had need of ſome Reſt, he went up into a Room where they were wont to eat; and all on a ſuddain, being terrified by the murther of *Caligula*, he got into the adjoining Gallery, and hid himſelf behind the Hangings that were before the Door. A common Soldier, who paſſed by that way, eſpying a Man's Feet under the Hangings, lifted up the Hanging to ſee who he was; *Claudius*, who was naturally fearful, and who might have trembled on this occaſion, had he been a Man of Courage, threw himſelf on his Knees, and begg'd his

Life of him. The Soldier immediately raiſed him up with the greateſt Reſpect, ſaluted him with the Title of Emperor, and with ſome of his Companions conducted him to the Camp where the Army was, who received him with a thouſand acclamations of Joy, and with common conſent put themſelves in Arms to ſecure his Life and the Empire to him. The Conſuls, the Senators and the Conſpirators, who had ſeiz'd on the Capitol and the Palace, and who had reſolved to extirpate the whole Race of the *Cæſars*, and to reſtore to the People their ancient Liberty, ſent to ſummon *Claudius* to come and conſult about the preſent ſtate of Affairs; and gave him to underſtand, by the Tribune whom they deputed to him, *That he had been miſerable enough, under the Reign of Tyrants, to deteſt Tyranny; and forbid him to take upon him the title of Prince.* *Claudius*, who expected nothing but Death, altho' he was ſecure amongſt the Soldiers, anſwered by this Tribune, *That he was detained in the Camp by force*; and in the mean time *Agrippa*, the Grandſon of *Herod the Great*, who was *Claudius*'s Friend, and pretended to be of the Senates Party, manag'd the Intereſts of his Friend ſo well, that he perſwaded the Senators and Knights, to conſent to what they could not longer hinder, and acknowledge *Claudius* for their Emperor.

He was no ſooner eſtabliſh'd but he made a Law to bury in oblivion all that had paſſed in the *Interregnum*, to aboliſh the Monarchy; and proteſted that he would never remember the injuries he had received. It is true, he did not believe that he ought to pardon the Murtherers of *Caius*, and he put to death *Caſſius Chærea*, *Lupus*, and ſome other Accomplices, *Not ſo much*, ſaid he, *to revenge* Caius's *Death as to ſecure my own Life.*

How ſtupid and ridiculous ſoever he was, he had yet recourſe to Policy, and knew, or was taught at leaſt, that he ought to uſe all means to make himſelf belov'd. To pleaſe all People, he never ſwore afterwards but by *Auguſtus*. He pay'd divine Honours to his Grand-mother *Livia*, and dedicated a Statue to her; appointed publick and magnificent funeral Sacrifices to his Father *Druſus* and his Mother *Antonia*; would

would have *Circenſian* Games celebrated in Honour of them; and ſhew'd no leſs concern to revive the Memory of his Brother *Germanicus*, and of *Mark Anthony*. He alſo recalled from Exile all who had been baniſh'd in his Nephew's Reign; and among the reſt, *Lucilla* or *Julia*, and *Agrippina*, and choſe ſome of the Senators of greateſt Integrity, carefully to examine, together with himſelf, the lives of thoſe who were kept in Priſon. After ſo ſtrict an enquiry he cauſed thoſe to be puniſhed whom he could not ſave againſt Law; reſtored to the innocent their Liberty and Eſtates; and did not confound them with the Guilty. At the ſame time he eaſed the Provinces of the greateſt part of the Tribute which had been impoſed on them by *Caligula*; vacuated all the Wills which that Tyrant had forc'd from private Men; reſtored to the Cities the Statues he had taken from them; to *Caſtor* and *Pollux* the Temple which he was not afraid to take from them, when he thought fit to commence a God. But when the Senate would have ſet a mark of Infamy on this Tyrant, he oppoſed it to ſecure his Dignity; made his Statues be taken away by Night, to teſtifie that he deteſted the Memory of ſo wicked a Prince as well as others, and to prevent the People from making ſome revolt, under the pretence of demoliſhing them.

He had at firſt ſo great a reſpect for the Senators, and for all the other Magiſtrates, that he did nothing without their Advice. It was with their Advice that he recalled all the Exiles; and if he was preſent at any Spectacles, and ſaw the Senators come, he roſe up; clap'd with his Hands, to do them Honour, and by his Voice expreſs'd his Joy. When the Tribunes went to him upon any affair, he roſe from his Tribunal; and becauſe they ſpoke to him ſtanding, he beſeeched them to excuſe him, and to conſider the inconveniency of the place. Not regarding his Authority or his Dignity he ſate amongſt the Judges, as an ordinary Counſellor, and expreſſed a mighty concern to have Juſtice exactly adminiſtred; to oppoſe Favour and Intrigues, to regard nothing but the Laws and Cuſtoms; and for this reaſon to renounce all motions of Anger

or Pity. It is true, however, that he ordered a Proceſs to be made againſt thoſe who heretofore took pleaſure to revile him; that when they were accuſed of a Crime he made them be doubly puniſhed, if they were convicted of it; but it is true, on the other hand, if they could clear themſelves of it, he was the firſt to acquit them, and that he loſt the memory of the Injury that had been done him.

When the Soldiers took the Oath to him, he promiſed each Man near four hundred Crowns, or even five, according to *Joſephus*, and was as good as his Word. He re-eſtabliſh'd *Antiochus* in *Syria Comagene*, which *Caligula* took from him after he had put him in poſſeſſion of it; ſent him back free into his Dominions (*a*), *i.e.* into *Iberia*, ſituated on the Weſt, betwixt *Albania* and *Colchis*. Beſides theſe two great Actions, he gave *Boſphorus* to one *Mithridates*, of the Race of that *Mithridates* who had been defeated in ſeveral Battels by *Sylla*, *Marcellus* and *Pompey*, and gave a part of *Cilicia* to *Polemon*. As for *Agrippa*, who had ſucceſsfully ſerv'd him, he was not contented only to confirm him in the Kingdom that *Caligula* gave him, but alſo added to it *Samaria* and *Judea*, which his Grand-father *Herod* had, *Abela*, and the Country bordering on Mount *Libanus*; gave the Senators an expreſs command to cauſe this Gift to be engraven on a Table of Braſs, and to be placed in the Capitol. (*b*) He alſo made many Preſents to *Herod*, the Brother and Son-in-law of *Agrippa*, whoſe Daughter *Bernice* he had married. But beſides theſe Gifts and Conſular Honours which he granted them, he would alſo have them enter into the Senate, and have publick Thanks ſolemnly return'd them, for the Benefit they had done both to the *Romans* and Foreigners, by procuring, thro' their good management, the Empire for him.

To

(*a*) *The Kingdom of* Imirette *is the* Iberia *of the Ancients. It is encompaſs'd by the Mountain* Caucaſus, Colchis, *the the* Black-Sea, *the Principality of* Guriel *and* Georgia.
(*b*) *See* Joſephus, *l.* 2. *of the Wars of the* Jews, *c.* 18, 19.

To make the Condition of a Soldier more Honourable, he prohibited those who carried Arms, to make their Court to Senators in their Houses; and to raise the Dignity of Senators, he degraded from the Nobility, all those who refused to be Members of the Senate. How great a kindness soever he had for his Servants, he excused neither their Insolence nor their Crimes; and he commanded one of his Slaves, who had affronted a Person of Quality, to be publickly whipp'd to Death. He confiscated the Estates and Persons of freed Men who pretended to be *Roman* Knights; punished a Slave with Death, for accusing his Master; and reduced again under Slavery those whose Masters had reason to complain of them after they had been made free. But when Masters put away their Slaves, when these miserable People fell Sick, and took them again when they were recovered, he ordain'd, that they should have no longer any right over those whom they had used thus, and who owed their cure to their own Industry. He gave some Spactacles to the People; abolished the Law *Papia Popæa*, which made it unlawful for Men of sixty Years old to marry; gave the Senate the Provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, the Government of which *Tiberius* began to reserve to himself, and forbid Strangers to take to themselves names that were proper to *Roman* Families. When a Woman refused to own a young Man for her Son, the Proofs of which were difficult and doubtful, he commanded her to take him for her Husband; and by her refusal the whole Truth was discover'd.

His moderation appeared so great, that he refused almost all the excessive Honours which they offered him, and the Title of *Father of the Country*, which however sometime after he kept. When the Consul *Vinicius* decreed that he should be stiled *Father of the Senate*, because the other title was now grown too common, he was ashamed of such gross Flattery, and earnestly rejected it. In marrying his Daughters he made no extraordinary Ceremonies; and his Behaviour sufficiently proved that Vain-glory was not his Vice; altho' he took pleasure to adorn himself with Emeralds and other precious Stones. It was not easie to charge him with

Pride, if we conſider, that after having honoured *Aulus Plautius* with an Oration, he was ſo gracious as to go and meet him when he made his entry into *Rome*; to accompany him into the Capitol, and to walk all the way on his Left-hand. Moſt of his Actions procured him the affection of the whole World, inſomuch, that being gone to *Oſtia*, the People on a rumour that he was aſſaſſinated, began in crowds to curſe the Soldiers as ſo many Traytors, and the Senators as ſo many Parricides; and theſe Curſes ceaſed not till the news was found to be falſe.

At divers times he provided againſt the Neceſſities and Diſorders of *Rome*. He ſent ſome Gariſons to *Oſtia* and *Pouzzolo*, ſubject to Fires by the careleſſneſs of the Inhabitants; and when the *Æmylian* Suburbs were on fire, he continued two Nights in the place where the Soldiers uſed to muſter. Having ſent for Bags of Gold and Silver, he encouraged all ſorts of People to extinguiſh the Fire, and aſſured them that he would reward every one according to the Pains he ſhould take. In a Famine, which reduced the *Romans* to deſpair, he received all the Affronts from the People that they could offer him, and was forced to retire into his Palace, and keep himſelf cloſe there for a while: But altho' he might have puniſhed their Inſolence, and had not employed force, but taken only the ordinary Methods of Juſtice, he thought it better to prevent it for the future than revenge what was paſt; and he took an admirable way for it. As Corn came not but by Water, and the Ships enter'd the Mouth of *Tyber* with a great deal of danger, becauſe there was no convenient Haven to receive them, and the Merchants would not hazard their Cargo in the Winter, he reſolved to make a Haven at *Oſtia*, altho' every body diſſuaded him from it, becauſe of the incredible expence which an undertaking of this nature required, He cauſed a Ditch of a prodigious largeneſs to be made, lin'd with hard Stone, that it might ſerve for a Channel to receive the Sea in; againſt which he oppoſed a ſtrong Bank, by ſinking to the bottom the famous Ship in which his Nephew, *Caligula*, had tranſported from *Egypt* the Obelisk, which

is

is ſeen at *Rome* in St. *Peter*'s Palace. By the green Turf which covered the thick and ſolid Stone-work, which was as high as the higheſt Towers, he would have a Tower rais'd upon other heaps of Earth, like that of *Alexandria*, wherein there ſhould be Fires by Night for the direction of the Courſe of the Ships. By theſe means the Port of *Oſtia*, which was of no uſe for Commerce, ſupplied the City of *Rome* afterwards with Proviſions ſufficient to maintain it. He undertook the dreining of the *Fucine* Lake; finiſhed its Chanel after 30000 Men had wrought two Years on it, and rebuilt *Pompey*'s Theatre, which had only been repaired by *Tiberius*, finiſh'd by *Caligula*, and afterwards conſumed by Fire. Beſides theſe Works, he gave the utmoſt perfection to the Triumphal Arch, which was deſign'd to be raiſed to the Honour of *Tiberius*; and as he could not endure the Senators ſhould ſit promiſcuouſly with the People when they came to Plays, he appoined them diſtinct Places, and changed the Rails of the great Cirque, which before were only of Stone, into Marble.

By the Counſel of *Sulpicius Flavius* and *Titus Livius*, who promiſed to aſſiſt him, being then but young, he reſolved to apply himſelf to the writing of Hiſtory, which he began from the death of *Julius Cæſar*. But as he was often reproved by his Mother *Antonia*, and his Grand-mother *Octavia*, for writing with too much Liberty, one of which was Daughter, and the other Wife to *Mark Anthony*, and which was more, Siſter to *Auguſtus*, he left but two Books of what paſſed in the firſt Wars of the Common-wealth, and compoſed forty one of all that happen'd after the Civil Wars. He compoſed eight Books of his own Life, and a Defence of *Cicero* againſt *Aſinius Gallus*, who maintained in ſome Books written by him, that the Eloquence of that great Man fell ſhort of that of his Father *Aſinius Pollio*. He wrote twenty Books in Greek of (*a*) *Cyrenaicks*, and eight more of *Charchedoniaicks*, *i. e.* of what happen'd to the People of

(*a*) Suetonius *gives theſe the title of* Tyrrhenicks, Τυῤῥηνικῶν.

Cyrene, and of *Carthage*; and these Books had so great an approbation, that in the ancient School of *Alexandria*, there was added another to them, entitled, *Claudian*; and there were Days appointed for reading these Books every Year in some one of the Schools or Academies.

Besides the first Consulship, which he executed about two Months under *Caius Caligula*, he executed four more successively; and when the Senate honoured him with Triumphal Ornaments, for the happy success of the *Mauritanian* War, altho' he had not been present in it, nor was it so much as waged in his Reign; he minded nothing but to deserve a just Triumph, for having gained a considerable Victory by *Sulpitius Galba*, who was afterwards Emperor, and another by *Gabinius*, he intended to reduce the Isle of *Brittain* which had totally revolted. All the People of this Island had taken up Arms, either upon the account of some Fugitives which they refused to deliver up, as *Suetonius* saith, or according to others, on the account of prodigious Sums which were exacted of them, under a pretence that they were to be employed in the continual Sacrifices of a Temple which had been dedicated to *Claudius*: However that be, *Aulius Plautius*, considerable for his Consulship and Pretorship, and whose merit was superior to his Dignities, gained great advantages over the *Brittains*. But as he belived that he ought not to warrant the Events of Fortune, which might change, and knew that the Triumphal Ornaments had not satisfied *Claudius*'s Ambition, he informed him of all his Progresses, and gave him to understand, that the Conquest of *Brittain* would be easie to him. Upon this advice *Claudius* went from *Rome* to *Ostia*, from *Ostia* to *Marseilles*, and was so Fortunate that (*a*) in sixteen Days he made himself Master of a part of the Island. He returned directly to *Rome* six Months after he left it, and permitted the Governors of Provinces, and

(*a*) *Vid.* Causab. *ad* Suetonii Claudium, *c.* 17. Cambden *in* Brittan.a, *p.* 321; 342. *& seqq.* Scaliger *ad* Euseb. *n.* 260.

and ſome unfortunate Exiles. to aſſiſt at the magnificence of his Triumph. In this pompous Ceremony he cauſed a Naval Crown to be ſet on the top of the Palace amongſt the Enemies Spoils, to ſignifie thereby, that he had paſſed the Ocean, and made it ſubject to the *Roman* People. *Meſſalina* followed his Triumphal Chariot in another, and the Senate was not contented to give the Emperor the ſurname of *Brittanicus*, but gave it alſo to his Son *Germanicus*; and would have thoſe divine honours paid to *Meſſalina* which had been paid to *Livia* the Wife of *Auguſtus*.

But his Vices were more remarkable than his Vertues, or to ſpeak more properly, he had but few Vertues and a great many Vices. All that was good in him was not his own; and he had not reaſon enough to do a commendable Action of himſelf. *Auguſtus* in ſome of his Letters ſpeaks of him as of a *Sot* and a *ridiculous Perſon*; reproaches him *with obſcurity of Language and Error of underſtanding*. He made good the Opinion he had of him, and was indeed of ſo little underſtanding, ſo irreſolute and diſagreeable, that his beſt Friends could not bear his dullneſs and inconſtancy, and he never ſpoke but with an ill-grace. But it was difficult enough, for a Man bred up with his Grandmother *Livia* and his Mother *Antonia*, amongſt Women, freed Men and Slaves of both Sexes, to get any thing in their company to improve his Underſtanding or his Courage. On the contrary, by theſe means, all the good natural Diſpoſitions that he might have had were ſtifled, and this is an Example and a Leſſon to Princes who commit the Education of their Children to Perſons who can inſpire them with nothing that is great or brave, and who ſuffer them to converſe with People whoſe Vices they will not fail to learn.

A Man having been ſummon'd before the Judges for aſſuming the Right and Quality of a Citizen, and the Lawyers diſputing amongſt themſelves, whether the accuſed ſhould anſwer in the Habit of a Citizen or a Stranger, *Claudius*, to ſhew his Wit, order'd, *That he ſhould have the Habit of a Citizen whilſt he was accuſed, and of a Stranger when they began to defend him.* In the

deciſion

deciſion of a certain Cauſe, inſtead of delivering his Opinion, he contented himſelf to write it in theſe proper Terms, *I am of the Opinion of thoſe who have propoſed the Truth.* As he condemned all that were abſent, but was willing to excuſe a Witneſs, out of a Province, whom he himſelf had cauſed to be cited, he told the Judges *That the Witneſs could not come ſo ſoon*; and being afterwards deſired to give the reaſon why he could not, he anſwered, *Becauſe he is dead at* Pouzzolo. One having returned him thanks for the Liberty that he had given to the accuſed to make their own Defence, he replyed *After all, it is the Cuſtom.* When another was reputed to have committed ſeveral Adulteries, and alſo to have abuſed the belief of many Virgins, inſtead of reproving him ſharply, and puniſhing him according to Law, he only told him, *That he ſhould moderate his Youth a little, or be more ſecret in his Amours*, adding, *I know your Miſtreſs very well.* Being importuned by the Entreaties of his Friends to raze out an Accuſation, which ſet a mark of the greateſt Infamy on the Perſon for whom they ſollicited, he razed out what they deſired of him, with this ridiculous ſaying, *The place will be ſtill as well ſeen where it was.* In his Cenſorſhip he gave order to have a fine Silver Chariot bought him in the *Sigillar* Street; and it was no ſooner bought but he commanded it to be broken in pieces. He ſet forth twenty Edicts in one Day; by the firſt of which he ordered, *That the Casks ſhould be very carefully prepared, becauſe the Vines promiſed well.* By the ſecond, he gave advice, *That the juice* (a) *of Yew, which was a Poiſon dangerous enough, was of wonderful Vertue againſt the biting of a Viper*; and by theſe Edicts it is eaſie to judge of the reſt. As he ſpoke in the Senate of Vintners and Butchers, he cry'd out, *And pray who can live without Beef-ſtakes to Broyl?* And he afterwards reckoned up the old Taverns where he uſed to drink. Having given his Vote for a Man who ſtood for the Office of Treaſurer, he added, *That this Candidate's Father had heretofore given him Water in a fit of*

(a) *De Arbore*, Plin. 16. c. 10.

of ſickneſs which he had. Seeing a Woman come into the Senate, and knowing her, he cry'd out, *This Woman, who was my Mother's Freed-Woman, and of her Bed-chamber, hath always look'd on me as her Lord, and I obſerve this particular for the ſake of ſome of my Servants, who do not believe that I am their Maſter.*

By theſe odd Extravagancies, and by a great many more of the like nature, he ſoon drew on himſelf the Scorn and Indignation of all People, inſomuch, that a *Greek* in Pleading had the Confidence to reproach him with his old Age and his Folly. A Knight who was falſely accuſed of having committed ſome Adulteries, being not able to endure his admitting the Evidence of common Whores againſt him, threw the Pin of his Table-Book ſo rudely in his Face, that *Claudius*'s Cheek was a long time marked with it.

His Memory was no better than his Wit, and he oftentimes ſo little remembered what he did, that after the murther of *Meſſalina*, he ask'd, *Why ſhe did not come to Supper*, not ſeeing her in the place where he was wont to Eat. After he had cauſed ſome Magiſtrates to be beheaded, he commanded the next Day after their Execution, that they ſhould go to their Houſes to give them notice to appear in the Council-Chamber, and taxed them of negligence. His Judgment was of a ſize with his Memory and his Wit, as appears from his Speech to the Senate, which he made to engage them to give way that he might marry his Niece, in which Speech, he oftentimes called her his Daughter, as if this Name had not made the Inceſt more abominable. After he had adopted *Nero*, to the prejudice of his own Son, he would often ſay, (a) *That none had ever been received into the Family of the* Claudii *by adoption*, inſtead of ſhewing the contrary, or juſtifying his Action by ſome pretence or precedent, as he might have done, ſeeing that *Tiberius* adopted *Germanicus*.

He

(a) *Excuſabunt id curioſi quod* Tiberius *jam e* Claudijs *migraret in gentem* Juliani. Lipſius.

He lov'd good Cheer ſo well, that having been drawn one Day by the ſmell of Victuals which were provided for the *Salij*, who were Prieſts conſecrated to *Mars*, he left the place, whither he went to give Audience, for fear he ſhould come too late. The worſt is, he loaded himſelf with Wine and Meat, and never went from a Treat till he was Drunk; afterwards he lay on his Back, and as he ſlept with his Mouth open, they thruſt a Feather down his Throat, and thus made him return what he had taken. The paſſion he had for Women was no leſs than that for good Cheer; and he had ſo great an Inclination to Dice that he made a Book of that Play, and would always play with them in his Litter as he travelled. It was for this reaſon that *Seneca*, whom he baniſh'd, feigned that *Æacus*, to puniſh him for this madneſs, had condemn'd him in Hell to throw Dice in a pair of Tables full of holes, as if he could not have invented a greater puniſhment for him.

His jealouſie made him paſs uneaſie Hours, and a while after he was made Emperor he never came to Feaſts without his Guards. When he was oblig'd in Civility or Friendſhip to viſit Sick Perſons, before he enter'd he had their Chambers and their Beds ſearch'd, whether it was ſafe to viſit them; and he had People whoſe buſineſs it was to ſearch all Perſons without exception, that came near him. The ſame order was like to have been given with relation to Women, Maids and Children; and it was not without ſome difficulty that he was diſſuaded from it. A Man having been taken with a Knife very near him, as he ſacrificed, he aſſembled the Senators, and after he had wept a good while, he ſpake to them of nothing but his Misfortunes, and the Dangers in which he had ſo often been. *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, the Author of the revolt of the Troops of *Dalmatia*, who knew him, and knew well enough that the leaſt thing would make him tremble, was ſo bold as to order him by a Letter *to reſign the Empire, and not to meddle with publick Affairs*; and *Claudius* was Coward enough to conſult with the principal Magiſtrates whether he ſhould obey *Camillus* on this occaſion.

But

But altho' they had cauſe enough to deſpiſe him, they had yet much more to fear him: His Jealouſies were dangerous, and a Man needed not be criminal to be dragg'd to puniſhment. The beſt People were often the moſt unfortunate; and they could not be ſuſpected but they muſt be guilty. A Pleader deſiring him, as he ſaluted him, to give him leave to ſay ſomething to him in private, told him that he had dream'd the Night before that he was murther'd; and pretending afterwards to know the Murtherer, ſhew'd him a Man with whom he had ſome Controverſie about a Matter of Right and Wrong. The Man was immediately ſeiz'd and puniſh'd with Death. After *Meſſalina* and *Narciſſus* had plotted againſt *Appius Silanus*, and concerted after what manner to manage their Deſign; *Narciſſus* came in the Morning all in a fright into *Claudius*'s Chamber, and aſſur'd him that he dream'd that *Silanus* had fal'n with violence on the Emperor to murther him. *Meſſalina* at the ſame time look'd upon *Claudius* as if ſhe had been ſurpriz'd with Aſtoniſhment and Admiration, and confeſſed that ſhe had often had the ſame Dream. *Silanus* a little while after was coming into the Chamber, whither the Day before he was order'd to come, and ſaw himſelf dragg'd as a Parricide, without having leiſure to recollect, or liberty to defend himſelf. The Day following *Claudius* communicated this horrid Conſpiracy to the Senate, and failed not in this Aſſemby to give great Thanks to *Narciſſus*, *in that even ſleeping he watched for the preſervation of his Life*. A Knight was condemn'd for a Criminal for ſaying, *That he dream'd he ſaw* Claudius *with a Garland of Ears of Corn reverſed, and that this Dream ſignified a dear Year*. Others have writ, that he ſaid he ſaw him with a Garland of Vine-branches which turn'd white, and that he ſaid the Emperor had reaſon to fear the end of the Autumn: So that to be ſecure from *Claudius*'s Cruelty, they ought not to have dream'd in their Sleep, or not to have had Dreams that ſignified any thing.

His Cruelty extended farther than his diſtruſt, and when they had put any one to Death without acquainting him firſt with it, and afterwards brought him the

News

News of it, he acknowledged without any kind of concern, *That he did not know before they had done it, but that he approved of the Execution.* He would have both the Innocent and the Guilty tormented in his Preſence, and obſerved after what manner they expired under the violence of their Torments. Being near *Rome*, and ſeeing the poor Wretches bound according to the ancient Cuſtom, afterwards to ſuffer Death, he had the patience to wait till the Executioner came, altho' he came very late; and a ſight that gave horrour to every body elſe was but an agreeable diverſion to him. In the Combats of the Gladiators he commanded thoſe that fell ſhould have their Throats cut; and he gave this barbarous Order only that he might more eaſily ſee them expire. After he had ſeen two Combatants fall down dead of the terrible Wounds they gave one another, he cauſed two Table Knives to be made of their Swords; and there was never a Day appointed to ſee Men fight againſt Beaſts, which was not a Day of rejoycing to him. Cruelty, to which he had always a great Inclination, came at laſt to be a habit in this Emperor, who beſides his Sons-in-Law *Cneius Pompeius* and *Silanus*; put to Death the two *Livias*, one the Daughter of *Druſus*, the other of *Germanicus*, *Lollia Paulina*, the Widow of *Caligula*, whom he had married, thirty five Senators, above one hundred *Roman* Knights, and a great many more, who had occaſion enough of their Vertue to ſupport them under their Calamities.

In the great number of his Freed men there were none had ſuch marks of Eſteem as *Poſides*, *Anthonius Claudius*, *Felix Polybius*, whom he made uſe of in his Studies, *Narciſſus* and *Pallas*. The two laſt grew ſo rich that when *Claudius* one Day complained that there came ſo little Money into his Treaſury, it was anſwer'd him, *That if theſe two Freed-men would take him for their Partner he would find Money more than enough.* *Narciſſus* was the Emperor's Secretary, *Pallas* his Treaſurer; and as he had honoured them both with Offices, and conſiderable Rewards, even by a Decree of the Senate, they took the advantage of the blindneſs of *Claudius*, their

their own Places, and the favour they were in, to ſatisfie their Ambition and their Avarice by all manner of ways. *Pallas (a)* was worth ſeven Millions and a half of Gold according to *Tacitus*, Ten Millions according to *Dio*'s account, who ſaith, *Narciſſus* had as much. *Fælix*, *Pallas*'s Brother, could not be leſs powerful than he, for he had by intolerable Extortions exhauſted *Judæa*, of which he was Governor, and married three Queens. Amongſt theſe three Queens they reckon *Druſilla*, the Grand-daughter of *Mark Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, Daughter of *Cleopatra* ſurnamed *Selene*, and of *Juba* II. King of *Mauritania*, Siſter and Heireſs of that *Ptolemy* whom *Caligula* murther'd, becauſe with his ſplendid Habit and his good Mien he charmed all who ſaw him in the Theatre. *Fælix*'s ſecond Wife, was alſo, according to ſome, named *Druſilla*, the Daughter of *Agrippa* and *Cypris*, the Daughter of *Phaſaelus*, *Herod*'s Brother; and his third Wife is unknown. But the marriage of theſe three Queens is much ſuſpected; and *Tacitus* it may be had not over-ſtrictly examined this matter when he wrote, that he married *Druſilla*, the Grand-daughter of *Mark Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, to whom he was only contracted, about the end of *Caligula*'s or the beginning of *Claudius*'s Reign. Indeed there was nothing to be wonder'd at in this Contract, ſeeing *Cleopatra* was the Daughter of a King who had been made a Priſoner of War by the *Romans*; and *Fælix*, tho' heretofore of ſervile Condition, was deſcended according to the Teſtimony of *Tacitus*, from the Kings of *Arcadia (b)*. Thoſe who conſent not to this Marriage affirm, that he never married any but *Druſilla*, of the Family of *Herod* the Great, whoſe Succeſſors were Kings of *Judæa*, *Comagene* and *Edeſſa*; that theſe three Kingdoms was the occaſion of the Error of *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*, when they wrote that *Fælix* married three Queens. However it be, all affairs

(*a*) Pallas Libertus *quater millies H. S. in bonis habuit. Et hoc ipſum de* Colliberto *ejus* Ælio Narciſſo Dio *Narrat.* Lipſ. *De Magnitudine* Romana, *l.* 2. *c.* 15.

(*b*) *Vid.* Reineſij *Epiſt. p.* 107. *& ſeqq.*

fairs of State paſſed thro' the Hands of ſome of theſe Freed-men, who altered the Laws and the Magiſtrates according to their Caprice or Intereſt; pillag'd the faireſt Provinces of the Empire; by their Murthers put the greateſt Families into Conſternation, and violated whatſoever was moſt ſacred in Nature.

Meſſalina alſo ſeconded their Intentions, and there was no Artifice nor Cruelty which ſhe did not employ when any revenge was in hand. This Princeſs, as I have ſaid, was the lewdeſt of Womankind, and to give her Character in few Words, it is ſufficient to ſay that from the Court, where ſhe tired out the moſt vigorous, ſhe went to the publick Stews to take her advantage of the number of People that frequented them; *That ſhe never went thence till ſhe was wearied, but never went away ſatisfied.* I will here give two Inſtances which will ſhew, that her paſſion for Pleaſure cannot be compared to any thing better than this Emperor's ſtupidity. She paſſionately lov'd a Farcer, who made no ſcruple of wickedneſs; and being not able to draw him to her, neither by her Gifts, nor her Promiſes, becauſe he ſtood in fear of *Claudius*'s Cruelty, ſhe had the impudence to deſire him to command this Buffoon to pay her a blind Obedience. *Mneſter*, who ſaw he had no reaſon to fear any thing, after ſuch an abſolute command, ſtuck at nothing to ſatisfie the brutal Paſſion of this Empreſs, who of all the Copper Money made under *Caligula*, and melted down by a Decree of the Senate, ſhe cauſed other Money to be made, and other Medals, on which this Farcer was repreſented; but he was at laſt puniſhed for his Adulteries. When *Claudius* was no farther than *Oſtia*, where he was offering Sacrifices, ſhe had the Impudence to marry *Caius Silius*, the handſomeſt and beſt ſhaped Man in *Rome*. She called witneſſes to her Contract, gave order that nothing ſhould be wanting to the Ceremony of her Nuptials; made a publick Feaſt, ſet at Table with her Husband, in the ſight of all the World, and permitted *Silius* to conſummate all the reſt. In the mean time the new Husband, who foreſaw well enough the danger that threatned him, was not wanting to repreſent to *Meſſalina*, that they

they had no time to loſe; that the Vengeance of *Claudius* was inevitable unleſs they endeavoured to prevent it; that their Crime, which had been ſome time ſecret, was at laſt become publick; and that they could not ſave themſelves but by another Crime. *Meſſalina* knew without doubt, that he had reaſon; and ſhe deſpiſed the Emperor enough to conſent, and even to give her aſſiſtance to this horrid action. But thro' the blindneſs of her Paſſion ſhe minded nothing but her Diverſion; and in the Vintage Feaſt, which ſhe celebrated in her Palace, appear'd with a *Thyrſe* in her Hand, her Hair diſhevel'd and neglected, with *Caius Silius* crown'd with Ivy, and Women cover'd with Skins, who danced round the Fatts into which the Wine ran, like the Prieſteſſes of *Bacchus*. *Claudius* was acquainted with this Marriage, tho' it was very late firſt; and when he knew it he ask'd, *if he was yet Emperor*: *Narciſſus* ſeeing him irreſolute, encouraged him, and preſſed him on; and for fear he ſhould change at the ſight of *Meſſalina* with her two Children, *Brittanicus* and *Octavia*, he managed the affair with ſuch addreſs and heat, that in fine, the Tribune who met her in the Gardens of *Lucullus*, fail'd not to follow his Orders, and run his Sword thorow her Body. To prevent him ſhe would have ſtabb'd her ſelf in the Breaſt with a Poynard which ſhe had, but her Hand trembled ſo that ſhe had neither ſtrength nor courage to make uſe of it. The News of her Death being brought to *Claudius*, he did not enquire after what manner ſhe dy'd; he only call'd for Drink, and went never the ſooner from Table. *Caius Silius*, and the Servants of this Princeſs's Pleaſure were puniſhed; and *Claudius* declared afterwards in a full Aſſembly, and in the preſence of all the Gentlemen of his Houſhold, *That he would nover marry again, and that if he did, he gave his conſent they ſhould agree to kill him.* He did not keep his Word, and it may be ſaid of this reſolution, what he ſaid of his Anger, when to anſwer the juſt Reproaches which were caſt on him for it, he ſolemnly declared *That it was but of ſhort continuance.*

Agrippina, who was given to Wine, and who found that it was a greater pleaſure to reign than to drink,

ſoon carried him from ſome Rivals; and as if it had not been enough for him to have choſen the Daughter of his Brother *Germanicus*, he got a Decree made, whereby it was permitted for Uncles to marry their Nieces. This ambitious Woman whom he married *A. M.* 4020, *An. Dom.* 50. divided the Sovereignty with her Husband, or to ſpeak more properly, left nothing but the trifles to *Claudius*, whilſt ſhe managed the Affairs of importance; imputed Crimes to many good Men to make an advantage of their Treaſures and Eſtates, and uſed all extraordinary ways to ſatisfie her Avarice and her Cruelty. By her Careſſes, Intereſt and Intrigues, the Emperor adopted *Domitius*, who was afterward ſurnamed *Nero Claudius*, in prejudice to his own Son; and as ſhe owed this adoption to the aſſiſtance of *Pallas*, ſhe rewarded this ſervice with a favour ſhe had granted to ſome others by proſtituting her ſelf to this Freed-man. *Claudius*, who was not ignorant of *Agrippina*'s Adulteries, repented he had taken her for his Wife, and adopted *Domitius Ænobarbus*, not foreſeeing the dangerous Conſequences thereof. He diſcovered this when in a drunken fit he exhorted *Brittanicus* to learn of him how to manage Affairs, after having ſaid, *That his Marriages were ſhameful, but that Fate, which had decreed them ſo, would not ſuffer them to be always puniſhed.* *Agrippina* had too good a Memory to ſuffer theſe terrible Words to be loſt; and moreover ſhe lov'd revenge well enough to meet with precipitation, a threatning Evil. Sometime after he fell Sick, and to try whether the Air and the Waters might contribute to his recovery, he took a Journy to *Sinueſſa*, a City of *Campania*, on the Sea Coaſt, betwixt *Garigliano* and *Vulturno*. *Agrippina*, who found ſo favourable an occaſion, and who kept a Sorcereſs with her, commanded her to prepare a ſlow Poiſon, which was given him by the Eunuch *Halotus* his Cup-bearer; and others will have it, that it was prepared for him in a Muſhroom *(a)* by his own Wife. But as this Poiſon did not work well, and Nature help'd to throw it out, ſome add,

(a) Plin. *l.* 22. *c.* 22.

add, that *Xenophon*, *Claudius*'s Phyſician, whom ſhe had brib'd, put into his Throat a Feather dipp'd in another very ſtrong Poiſon, and that *Agrippina* compleated by the Phyſician what ſhe had begun by the Sorcereſs. He died the thirteenth of *October*, *A. M.* 4025. *A. D.* 55. Such was the end of this Emperor, who was the Murtherer of his Friends, of his Servants, and of his Kindred; the Slave of his Freed-men and of his Wives. He had a publick Funeral, and was placed in the number of the (*a*) Gods, who was too ſtupid and brutiſh to be rank'd amongſt Men.

CHAP. IX.

NERO.

(*b*) *Nero Claudius Druſus Germanicus*'s Father was *Cneius Domitius*, of the Family of the *Domitii*, ſurnamed *Ahenobarbi* from their red or yellow Beard; and his Mother was *Julia Agrippina*, Daughter of *Germanicus Cæſar* and *Julia Agrippina*, *Caligula*'s Siſter. He was born on the fifteenth of *December*, A. M. 4007, according to *Suetonius* 4008, according to *Dio*, A. D. 38: was adopted at twelve (*c*) Years old by *Claudius*; liv'd thirty one, and reigned thirteen, ſeven Months and twenty Days.

He had three Wives, *Octavia*, Daughter of *Claudius* and *Meſſalina*; *Sabina Poppæa*, Daughter of *T. Lollius* and *Poppæa Sabina*, Daughter of *Poppæus Sabinus*; and

(*a*) *Hunc Deum quis colet? Quis credit? Deniq; cum tales Deos facitis, nemo vos Deos eſſe credet.* Seneca *in Apolocynth.* (*b*) *In Nummis* Nero Cl. Cæſ. Aug. Germanicus. *Sic & in Inſcriptionibus. Inſcrip.* lx. *p.* 236. *Adde* Lipſium *in* Auguſtæo *ſtemmate.* (*c*) *Undecimo ætatis anno a* Claudio *adoptatus eſt*, Sueton. *ſcribendum Duodecimo. V.* Tacit. *Annal. l.* 12. *c.* 25. *ubi* Lipſius *Variant Interpretes.*

Statilia Meſſalina, Grand-Daughter of *Taurus*, ſufficiently known by his Triumph and two Conſulſhips. He divorced the firſt to marry the ſecond; and after *Poppæa*'s death he was not aſham'd to marry *Statilia Meſſalina*, the Wife of the Conſul *Atticus Veſtinus*, altho' beſides him ſhe had three Husbands already; and he could not but know her before, by ſome unlawful Favour which he had received from her, and which ſhe had granted to others. By *Poppæa* he had a Daughter named *Claudia*, who died when ſhe was four Months old, and was much regretted by him.

He had a full red Face, but diſagreeable, bright Cheſnut curl'd Hair, a ſhort *(a)* ſight, greeniſh and hollow Eyes, a great Neck and Belly, ſlender and lean Thighs, an ill Skin, his Body mark'd with red and black Spots; and whoſoever did not love the ſmell of a He-Goat muſt ſuffer in his Company. He was of a middle Stature, and had ſo good a Health, that in fourteen Years he was but thrice indiſpoſed. In theſe three illneſſes he did not abſtain from Wine, and did alſo eat as he was wont to do when he was in perfect Health. He was very modeſt in his Dreſs, and commonly ſo careleſs, that he appeared in Publick with a Handkerchief about his Neck, a Woolen Gown of mixed Colours, without a Girdle, and ſometimes even without Shoes.

After *Claudius*'s death had been kept ſome time ſecret, the Gates of the Palace were open'd; and whilſt *Brittanicus* was ſtaid in a Chamber, by the Artifices of *Agrippina*, *Nero* preſented himſelf, with *Burrhus*, before the Guards who were on Duty, and commanded by *Burrhus*, by whom he is received with a thouſand Acclamations of Joy, is carried to the Camp in a Litter, and declared Emperor by all the Troops. The Decree of the Senate followed the Declaration of the Soldiers, and the Provinces without any difficulty conſented to it.

Imme-

(a) Caio *principio rigentes (oculi.)* Neroni *niſi cum conniveret, ad prope admota hebetes*, Plin. *l.*ii. *c.* 37. *Statura fuit pæne juſta, &c. oculis ceſiis & hebetioribus*, Sueton. *in Nerone*, *c.* 51.

Immediately, to teſtifie his Gratitude, he made a Funeral Oration on *Claudius*, whom he afterwards ranked amongſt the Gods; would have the adminiſtration of all things that might concern the good of the State to be lodg'd in *Agrippina*; and the firſt Day of his Empire, he gave the Officer who went to him to receive the Order, *The beſt Mother* for the Word; afterward he walked publickly abroad with her, and ſometimes went with her in a Litter; proteſted that his Edicts ſhould be regulated by thoſe of *Auguſtus*, being aſſured, that he could not chuſe a fairer Model, and that this Emperor's Memory was in veneration with the *Roman People*. He alſo added in full Senate, *That being too young to know the Civil Wars, he brought no Revenge nor Hatred to the Throne; That he would not be the ſole Judge of Affairs, leſt thoſe for whom he had a kindneſs might ſerve themſelves of their Favour and Intereſt; That Intrigues, Offers and Preſents ſhould be henceforwards very uſeleſs things; That he knew how to put a difference betwixt the Ieteresſts of his Family and thoſe of the State; That the Senators ſhould diſcharge their Offices according to ancient Cuſtom; and that he would take care of the Armies.*

When he was but a Child, he made himſelf admired at the *Circenſian* Games, and in Exerciſes after the *Trojan* Faſhion. Afterwards, he took delight continually to exerciſe himſelf in riding and driving Chariots. To augment the number of the Prizes, he augmented the number of Races, that there might be always one fall to his ſhare; he at laſt improved to that degree, that he excelled the moſt famous Chariot Racers of his time. He alſo got great reputation at the Lute; and as he propoſed to himſelf to imitate *Hercules*, they ſay that he had a Lion kept which he was to ſtrangle betwixt his Arms, or to knock down with a Club in the Amphitheatre, in the ſight of the People.

He was skilful in the Statuary's Art and in Painting, and there were few Liberal Arts which he did not perfectly underſtand. He Pleaded in *Greek* for the *Trojans*; and for the *Rhodians*, who had loſt their Liberty under *Claudius*, for having hang'd ſome *Roman* Citizen; in Latin for the *Bolognians*; and he did it with that

ſucceſs, that the *Trojans* were exempted from publick Offices, the *Rhodians* reſtored to their Liberty, and the Colony of *Bolonia* had 250000 Crowns for the loſſes they had ſuffer'd by Fire. His Knowledge had been more penetrating, and of a greater compaſs, if *Agrippina*, who was the moſt ambitious of Womankind, regarding nothing but her own Intereſt, and fearing leſt he ſhould be too knowing, had not perſwaded him to reject Philoſophy, as a Study not fit for a Prince, who ought to mind nothing but the Arts of Government. (*a*) *Seneca* himſelf, the Philoſopher, to whom ſhe committed his Education, after he was recalled from Exile, whereunto *Claudius* had condemn'd him, did not permit him to apply himſelf to the reading of the moſt celebrated Orators, to make himſelf the longer admired by him, and the more neceſſary to him. Thro' this unfortunate Education, *Nero* was conſtrained to borrow of his Maſter the Speeches which he had moſt need of; and that which was the Work of the later's Wit was the Labour of the Memory of the former. After this, we need not wonder that he carried the Prize which his Rivals ought with Juſtice to have claimed, who being a Prince could not want Flatterers, and who being not able to form his Stile but according to that of his Maſter, that in the Opinion of ſome had more Fancy than Judgment, and in his Writings never obſerv'd the Rules of Art. Altho' *Juvenal*, *Perſius*, *Lucian*, and the Author of the Dialogue of the Orators, have ridiculed *Nero*'s Poetry, *Martial* hath given him the Character of Learned; and it is obſerv'd in *Suetonius*, that he rehearſed in his Palace and on the Theatre, Verſes which had ſo general an approbation, that a ſolemn Proceſſion was voted in honour of him, and a part of theſe Verſes was dedicated in Letters of Gold to *Jupiter* in the Capitol. However, it may be ſaid, that he had a great Inclination to make Verſes, and that thoſe which he made coſt him no pains. He made ſome on *Poppæa*, in which he praiſed her Amber colour'd Hair; and he wrote a Satyr

(*a*) *De* Seneca Gellius, *l.* 12. *c.* ii.

Satyr againſt *Afranius Quinctianus*, who led an infamous Life, according to *Tacitus*; *Hymns* in honour of *Neptune* and *Amphitrite*; of *Melicerta* and *Lucothæa*; *Canacea*; *Hercules Furioſus*; *Niobe*; *The Prieſteſſes of Bacchus*; *Oreſtes*; *The Troicks*; and *Antigone*. Moſt of his Poems were ſung in *Italy* and *Greece*; and altho' they were not eſteem'd but in Complaiſance and Flattery, yet it had been no great defect in an Emperor not to have been an excellent Poet.

In his youth he applied himſelf much to Muſick; and as he loved it paſſionately, he was no ſooner Maſter of the Empire, but he ſent for one *Terpnus* to his Court, who ſung and plaid upon the Harp to perfection. He had a great Eſteem for him; and by much converſing with him, and hearing of him; by practiſing and obſerving the Rules which the other gave him, he made all the progreſs that was poſſible. To preſerve that little Voice he had, he laid a plate of Lead on his Stomach; took often light Purges; eat in all Months a Sallad of Leeks in Oyl, without Bread; and abſtain'd from Fruits and Meat which were prejudicial to it. It was at *Naples* that he firſt appear'd in a full Theatre; and he ended what he had begun to ſing without any concern, altho' the Theatre was at the ſame time much ſhockt by a ſuddain Earthquake. He ſung ſeveral Days ſucceſſively; and to ſpread his Fame farther, he went to *Rome*, to *Caſſiope*, a City of *Corcyra*, and into *Achaia*. Returning from *Greece* to *Rome*, he would make his entry into it in Triumph, with the Crown, the Branches of Palm and Laurel which he had acquir'd; and he invented an Inſtrument, whoſe Pipes were diſpoſed like thoſe of Organs, and which by the motion of Water only, made the ſame Harmony.

He was ſcarce entred the ſixteenth Year of his Age when News was brought him, that *Armenia* was conquer'd by *Vologeſes* King of the *Parthians*, Son of *Vonones*, who died in *Claudius*'s reign, and Brother of *Pacorus* King of *Media*, and of *Tiridates*. Whilſt People were in expectation how *Nero* would behave himſelf in an Affair of this importance, he gave Orders for Recruits of young Men to be rais'd to compleat the Legi-

ons which were in the East; that these Legions should march towards *Armenia*; that the two Kings *Agrippa* and *Antiochus* should enter the Frontiers of *Vologeses*'s Kingdom to make a Diversion; and that at the same time Bridges should be laid over the *Euphrates*. He gave the Government of the lesser *Armenia* to *Aristobulus*, and of the Province *Sophene*, which is a Southern Country of the greater *Armenia*, to *Sohemes*. As for the command of the Troops, he ordered, that *Quadratus Vinidius* should have in *Syria* with him, a part of the Auxiliaries, and two Legions, because he governed this Province; That to the same number of Citizens and Allies, which *Domitius Corbulo* was to have, should be added the Regiments of Foot and Squadrons of Horse which had their Winter quarters in *Cappadocia*; and that the Confederate Kings should obey both. The most diffident were amaz'd at the Prudence of this young Prince, and also mightily pleased with the choice which he had made of *Corbulo*, who had served in *Germany* under the last Reign; was tall, and of a good Shape, spoke like a Man of Quality, had great Prudence and much Experience, and knew how to take his Advantages on all occasions. Sometime after, the *Parthians* quitted *Armenia*, and the News of it being brought to *Rome*, there were some Senators who advised, *That publick Thanksgiving should be made*; *That on the Thanksgiving Day* Nero *should be cloathed in Triumphal Robes*; *That he should enter* Rome *in Ovation*; *That a Statue should be erected to him as large as that of* Mars *the Avenger, and that it should be placed in the same Temple.* *Vinidius* and *Corbulo*, who foresaw that *Vologeses*, tho' retir'd from *Armenia*, would not fail often times to find them Work, sent Deputies to him, to oblige him to enter into a Treaty of Peace; and they managed it so well that he resolved to deliever to them for Hostages the most considerable Persons of the Family of *Aschki*, whence afterwards was formed *Asaki* and the *Arsacidæ*. One of *Vinidius's* Captains was the first who was to receive them; and *Corbulo* being informed thereof, dispatch'd away Captain *Varus* for the same purpose, which caused some difference betwixt them; but this difference

rence being referred to the Hoſtages themſelves, and to the Deputies who were order'd to conduct them, they gave the preference to *Corbulo*, out of the great Eſteem and natural Inclination which they had for him. *Quadratus Vinidius* complained of this, and *Corbulo* ſaid, that *Vologeſes* ſent not all theſe Hoſtages till he ſaw the charge of this War was committed to him; and that thoſe things which he before thought eaſie, appeared then to him either very doubtful or very difficult. *Nero* by his Prudence, which all admired, found means to reconcile them; and to conſider them both according to their Merits, he publiſh'd, *That Laurel ſhould be added to the Bundles of Rods which were carryed before the Emperor, as a mark of the happy ſucceſs of* Vinidius *and* Corbulo. After this it was no longer doubted but that Men of Honour would be in eſteem at Court; and that Vertue would ſoon make its way to Favour and Fortune.

Vologeſes being informed that *Corbulo* had expelled *Tiridates* out of *Armenia*, to put *Tigranes* the Son of *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia* in poſſeſſion of it, takes Arms afreſh; ſets a Diadem on the Head of his Brother *Tiridates*; routs the greateſt part of the Forces commanded by *Ceſonius Pætus*, and alſo put him to flight. When *Ceſonius Pætus* came to *Rome*, and was afraid of being puniſhed for his Cowardice, *Nero*, to give him a cutting reproach only, ſaid to him, *I forthwith aſſure you that I pardon you, for fear I ſhould be the occaſion of ſome ſickneſs to you, if I ſhould hold you any longer in ſuſpence, ſeeing that you are ſo eaſily frighted.* But he committed the whole conduct of this War to *Corbulo*, who manag'd things ſo ſucceſfully, that by his Counſels and his Army he oblig'd the King of the *Parthians* to conſent, that *Tiridates* ſhould go and petition the Emperor to give him *Armenia*; and it was concluded, that he ſhould lay the Enſigns of Royalty at the Feet of *Nero*'s Image, and not take them again but from the Hands of the Emperor himſelf. *Tiridates* to perform his promiſe, went afterwards to *Rome*, made a ſplendid Entry, and was receiv-ed by *Nero*, ſitting on an Ivory Throne, betwixt the Enſigns and Banners of the Legions and Cohorts, the Soldiers being in Arms round the Temples adjoining to the

the *Forum*. Having beheld him in a moſt profound ſubmiſſion, he very civilly raiſed him up, kiſſed him, and having made him take off his *Tiara*, he crowned him with a Diadem. From the Pleading place where he received him, he was conducted in Ceremony into *Pompey*'s Theatre. To receive him with the greater Magnificence, *Nero* had all this great Theatre ſtrew'd over with Gold Duſt; and to keep out the heat of the Sun, covered it on top with Purple Cloths ſtudded with Stars of Gold, which was the cauſe that this Day was called *The golden Day*. *Tiridates* having again proſtrated himſelf at his Feet, he raiſed him up with great Courteſie, and made him ſit beſide him on his Right-hand. For ſo great Civilities, all that were preſent ſaluted him with the Title of Emperor; and they carried a Laurel Crown for him into the Capitol. (a) The Iſle of *Britain*, which was weary of the *Roman* Government, and had made great efforts to recover its Liberty, was again ſubdued, by the conduct of *Suetonius Paulinus* and *Petronius Turpilianus*; and all the Provinces of the Empire were ſecured.

He was four times Conſul; ſhut the Temple of *Janus* twice, being of the Opinion, that he ſhould have no more Wars; and in the reverſe of ſome of his Medals there are to be ſeen, at the foot of an Alar, theſe Words, *The Altar of Peace*.

After he had made free ſome particular Cities, he would alſo make *Greece* Free; and he granted the privilege of *Roman* Citizens to the Judges of the Prizes, which were diſtributed in the ſolemn Games of this Province. He gave very conſiderable Penſions to the Senators that were not rich; delivered a great number of Knights out of Poverty; ſunk ſeveral Taxes in favour of the People, to whom, moreover, he gave great Largeſſes; and forgot not his Servants nor Guards. Amongſt divers Games which he ſolemniz'd, he inſtituted ſome which had his own Name; and in thoſe which were

(a) Cambden *in* Brittania, *p.* 347.

were *for the Eternity of the Empire*, he made Tickets be drawn by Lot, whereon were ſet down a certain number of Slaves, Horſes, wild Beaſts that were tamed, Pictures, a great quantity of Gold and Silver, precious Stones, Houſes, Fields, Ships and Iſlands. As long as *Tiridates* continued in *Italy*, which was nine Months, he made him a Preſent of 20000 Crowns a Day. When he went away *Nero* preſented him with 2500000 Crowns according to ſome; and no leſs than 5000000 according to others. With all this, we may ſee in *Tacitus*, that *Suetonius Paulinus* praiſed him highly, for that he gave every Year, to the Publick, a Million and a half of Gold, after having blamed his Predeceſſors, whoſe Expences had been greater than their Revenues.

He founded an Academy for all kinds of Exerciſes, in imitation of the *Grecians*; and from *Miſenum* to the Lake *Avernus*, he began a Pond, encloſed with Porticoes, into which were to run Medicinal Waters, from the Gulf of *Bajæ*; from this Lake unto the Haven of *Oſtia*, he undertook to make a Canal ſeventy Leagues long, and ſo broad that two Gallies might meet without touching. Beſides Private houſes, with which he adorned *Rome*, he built for himſelf a ſtately Palace, which was firſt named *The Thorough-fare*, but being rebuilt, after it had been ruined by a dreadful Fire, was called *The golden Houſe*. This Palace was of ſo prodigious an extent, that the Porticoes or Galleries, made with three ranks of Pillars, were three thouſand paces long, without comprehending, ſaith *Suetonius*, in that Space a Pond which was like a Sea, and round which there were ſeveral Buildings. At the entrance of it, in the lower Court, there ſtood a Coloſſus ſix ſcore Foot high, whoſe Head repreſented that of *Nero*; and this Coloſſus was made by *Zenodorus*, who alſo made for the *Avernus* a Statue of *Mercury* four hundred Foot high. There were encloſed within this Palace Meadows, Fields, Vineyards, tame Beaſts, and others wild in Foreſts, which did not intercept the liberty of the Proſpect; and the inſide of the Houſe glitter'd with Gold, Mother of Pearl, Pearls and precious Stones.

The

The higheſt of the Walls, Wainſcoted with Ivory, was turned round by certain Engines; and by the help of Pipes they ſcattered Flowers, Perfumes, and the moſt pleaſant ſcented Waters on thoſe that Eat. There ran on all ſides Baths of Sea Waters, and others of cold Waters, which were admirable for Wounds. The greateſt of all the Halls was round, and turned about with thoſe who were in it: Neither Marble, Porphiry, Jaſper nor Pearl was ſpared in the Pavements of the Rooms, or any part of the Houſe.

Finding that the Canvaſings were at laſt grown too violent in the Election of Pretors, and that the Senate diſpoſed of theſe Offices according to their Humour, he was not wanting to remedy this diſorder; and he gave the command of a Legion to every one of the Competitors who exceeded the ſet number. To make the quality of a Senator the more conſiderable, he would have thoſe, who appeal'd from particular Judges to the Senate, run the hazard of paying the ſum which thoſe paid who appealed from them to the Emperor, notwithſtanding it was free before, and not ſubject to any penalty. He forbid Perſons of Quality to be brought to a Tryal on the Teſtimony of Slaves; the corrupting of Advocates by Preſents; the forging of Wills by Notaries; the forcing of Magiſtrates to give the ſight of fencing Matches to the People; the obtaining of publick Offices by pretended and ſecret Adoptions; the introducing of Luxury into Families; and the debaucheries of Youth. He ſoftned the too great ſeverity of ſome Laws; aboliſhed what was moſt vicious in ſome Cuſtoms; regulated the Rights and Privileges which were abuſed on ſeveral occaſions; and commanded that for the future, neither Friend, nor Relation, nor Servant, nor Foreigner, ſhould be conſider'd in the adminiſtration of Juſtice.

When they gave him the title of *Father of the Country*, he refuſed it, *becauſe he was not of Age to deſerve it*; and if they returned him Thanks, he anſwered with an unconceivable Modeſty, *When I ſhall be worthy of it.*

Some

Some having preſented him Statues of himſelf in Gold and Silver, he gave an expreſs prohibition, That for the time to come they ſhould make none for him; and the Senators having decreed, that the Year ſhould begin with *December*, which was the Month of his Birth, he would never permit it. To honour the Memory of his Father *Cneius Domitius*, he deſired them to grant him a Statue; and asked of them the marks of the Conſular Dignity for *Aſconius Labeo*, who had been his Tutor. When *Lucius Antiſtius* was his Collegue in the Conſulſhip, and the Magiſtrates had taken an Oath inviolably to obſerve the Ordinances of the Princes, he forbid *Antiſtius* to Swear, *That he would obſerve his, being not willing that he ſhould obey him, if he commanded any thing that was unjuſt.*

He protected with all his Power *Julius Druſus*, and the Senator *Carinas Celer*, who were accuſed of being too much in the Intereſts of *Brittanicus*; and when the Pretor *Antiſtius* was convicted of writing a Libel againſt him, ſome condemned him to Death, others only to Baniſhment. *Nero*, whom the Conſuls acquainted with this Sentence, anſwer'd them, *That* Antiſtius, *whom he had never diſobliged, had endeavoured to diſgrace him; but, that he would never forbid the Judges to uſe Moderation in a Caſe where their too great Severity would diſpleaſe him: That he would leave it to their choice even to diſcharge him.* He gave a Shew of fencing Combats, in the wooden Amphitheatre which he had made, on condition that none ſhould fight to Death, excepting the Criminals; and when one Day they had brought him a Dead Warrant to ſign, according to the Cuſtom, he he cry'd out, *Would to God I had never learned to write.*

Time, which diſcovers what is moſt ſecret and hidden in the Hearts of Men, at laſt diſcovered what was in *Nero*'s; and when he was born, his Father *Domitius*, who by his Cruelty and Treachery was grown odious to all People, had reaſon to ſay, *That nothing could be born of him and* Agrippina *but what muſt be execrable.* Indeed what we have ſeen excellent in this Emperor came from another Hand, and he never did well from his

his own Inclination; he was rather drawn than led to it: And as his Will had no ſhare in the great Actions which he did, all the Praiſes he received for them were ſo many Reproaches of him. The fear he was under of diſobliging *Agrippina*, whoſe haughty and revengeful Temper he knew, and the ſelf-intereſted Deference which he had for *Seneca*, ſuſpended for five Years the natural inclination which he had to Evil. The *Romans* had the advantage of this diſſimulation; and had it laſted till his Death, his Reign would have paſſed for that of a God. But as *Nero* acted anothers part, when he was reſpectful and teachable, he reſolved now to act his own; and thought it beneath the Dignity of an Emperor, always to obey a Preceptor and a Mother. The Authority of both of them became ſuſpected to him; and this Monſter, who had been reſtrained by fear, gave every where bloody marks of his Cruelty when he found himſelf at Liberty.

He began at firſt to go abroad in diſguiſe; and that he might not be known by Night, he put on ſometimes, the habit of a Slave, with a Perriwig, and took with him People much of his own Humour, who placed their chief happineſs in Debauchery. In this dreſs he ran through all the Streets with them; went from Taverns to worſe places, and from thence to others, and robbed all he met in the way. To reſiſt him was to be in danger enough; and when he had pillaged the Shops which he broke open, he cauſed the things which he had taken away by Night to be publickly ſold. As he continued this ſcandalous Life he was briskly reſiſted by *Julius Montanus* a Senator, whoſe Wife he dragg'd along, and wanted but little of having been killed in this Action. The Senator diſcovering who he was, beſeeched him to pardon him; but he was forced to prevent his revenge by his own Death; and afterwards *Nero* would no longer exerciſe this villainous Trade without ſome Gladiators and Soldiers of his Guards to accompany him. When it was known that this Exerciſe pleaſed him, young People, on the other ſide, fail'd not to imitate him; and the Night,

Night, which was made for Reſt, was the time of Robberies and Murders.

But he grew weary of acting the Brave in the Dark, and a Fancy took him, to make thoſe laugh whom he had made weep. To this purpoſe he went often to play on the Harp in Taverns, where he acted the Buffoon, and even all naked, according to *Philoſtratus*. And that he might have a ſhare in the 25000 Crowns which a Pretor had given for ſome Plays, he had the Impudence to act a Part, and to put himſelf among the Actors of Farces. In Tragedies he repreſented either a God or a Hero, with all that was proper to diſtinguiſh him from other Heroes, or other Gods; and when he was to perſonate a Goddeſs or a Heroine, he took a Mask which reſembled the Woman who was in greateſt favour with him at that time.

Being at *Naples* he feaſted in the Theatre before all the People, and engaged to ſing ſome *Greek* Song after he had drunk. He was ſo rejoiced that ſome *Alexandrines* had undertaken to celebrate his Praiſes with Muſick, that he ſent for a great number of Muſicians from *Alexandria*, and choſe out above 5000 young and robuſt Men, whom he diſtributed into Companies, and cauſed to be inſtructed in the different kinds of Applauſes, which were to be made him when he ſung. The Judges of the Prizes, which were propoſed in *Achaia*, having very civilly ſent him all the Crowns of the Players on the Harp, he received the Ambaſſadors that brought them with all the Careſſes imaginable; and when one of them had very earneſtly deſired him to ſing, and he ſaw himſelf admired, he ſaid, *That none had a good Ear but the* Grecians, *and they only were worthy of him and his Stuaies.* Altho' there was no Prize for Muſick in the City of *Olympia*, he propoſed a conſiderable one for it; and becauſe he had not yet won it, and one of his Freed men adviſed him by Letter, *That it was of the laſt importance to him, to haſten his return to* Rome, he anſwered him, *You adviſe me to haſten my return to* Rome! *Adviſe me rather to go thither without making an Entry into it worthy of* Nero. In this wretched Ambition, to oblige the Judges of Prizes graciouſly

ciouſly to grant them to him, he told them, *That he had done, humanly ſpeaking, all things that were poſſible to be done; That the ſucceſs depended on them and Fortune, but that they were too wiſe and knowing to uſe him ill.* That which was moſt ſtrange and cruel was, that it was as much as a Man's Life was worth, not to obſerve all the Rules that were to be kept in the publick Acclamations; to clap Hands when it was the time to hear him; to be ſilent when he deſerved to be praiſed; to diſcover the leaſt diſlike in the Theatre; to come into it with any ſort of Melancholy, or to go out of it, how great extremity ſoever one was reduced to. Women fell in Labour there without daring to cry out: and *Veſpaſian*, who was ſuſpected to have ſlept there, had much ado to eſcape for ſo great a Crime. His Rivals had another diſadvantage, which was, that he made them tremble ſometimes with his Menaces and Affronts; and he cauſed an *Epirote*'s Throat to be cut, who had no other fault but that he ſung better than himſelf. He alſo broke all the Statues down which had been erected to thoſe who had won Prizes in the ſacred Games; and for his own, he order'd, that they ſhould be placed in Ceremony round the Beds of his Chamber; and that he ſhould be repreſented on ſome pieces of Money as a Harper. In others he was repreſented under the Figure of *Apollo Citharædus*. And having cauſed himſelf to be crowned in *Greece* as the moſt admirable Muſician, the moſt skilful Charioteer, and the moſt excellent Comedian of his Age, he had alſo the Pleaſure, when he entred *Rome* in Triumph, to hear the Senators call him *Nero Apollo* and *Nero Hercules*. Amongſt the Crowns which he received, there was one which he adored; and to win new ones, he would afterwards preſerve his Voice, and keep a Man continually to put him in mind, that he ought not to ſtrein himſelf, but to take a great care of himſelf. Notwithſtanding, he was much in the wrong, to take all theſe pains for ſo ſmall a matter, if *Lucian* hath not wrong'd him in ridiculing his hoarſe and diſagreeable Voice, and if *Julius Vindex* had reaſon to ſay, *That he was the worſt of Muſicians, and yet a worſe Emperor*

peror than Muſician. He was not better treated by (a) Bunduice, Voadicia or Boodicia, Queen of the Iceni, who inhabited the Counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge and Huntington; and we may ſee in the fifth Oration of Themiſtius, in the Cæſars of Julian, that Apollo took away with Indignation and Contempt, the Crown which this Emperor had ridiculouſly uſurped from him.

From Liberality he proceeded to the utmoſt Profuſeneſs, and look'd upon thoſe who obſerved any order in their Expences to be covetous. To be a generous Man, according to his Maxim, he muſt obſerve neither Mean nor Rule in his Largeſſes. He perfumed himſelf from Head to Foot, and admired Caligula for having ſpent, in four Months above ſixty Millions of Crowns which Tiberius had left him. Having commanded two hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns to be given a Soldier of his Guards, Agrippina being ſurpriz'd and troubled at ſo great Profuſeneſs, order'd that the Money ſhould be counted on a Table to ſhew it her Son Nero, thinking that when he beheld it nearer, he might either revoke it, or repent of it. He ſaw indeed the Sum counted, and ſuſpecting his Mothers Policy, he ſaid, he did not think to have given ſo little, and commanded as much more to be given him. His Gifts amounted to 55000 Millions of Crowns; and he gave ſecret ones, of which neither the number nor quality is known. He gave to Menecrates the Harper, and to Spicillus the Gladiator, the Patrimony and Houſes of ſeveral Perſons who were eminent for their Triumphs; and it was at his Expence, and by his Order, that a Funeral was made for a Banker, pompous enough for a King. He waged 10000 Crowns on each caſt of a Dye; and never wore the ſame Gown twice. He fiſhed with a Net of Gold Wire, and Lines dy'd in the richeſt Tyrian Purple; and in his Journies he had always a thouſand Waggons, whoſe Drivers were remarkable for their rich

(a) *Sic in* Xiphilini *Libris.* Voadica, Tacito *in vita* Jul. Agricolæ, §. 16. *aliis dicitur* Boodicia & Bondicia.

Collars, and their ſplendid Coats. The Mules which ſerved in theſe Journies were all ſhod with Silver, and the Mule-drivers covered with Cloth of *Caniſia*, of a Gold colour, that was highly in eſteem. (*a*) He undertook to join the *Ægean* to the *Ionian* Sea; and there was nothing ſo difficult which he did not attempt, on the credit of *Ceſalius Baſſus* a *Roman* Knight, who made him believe that there was a Field in *Africk*, wherein *Dido*, after her flight from *Tyre*, had hidden all her Riches. In Winter he uſed hot Baths, and in Summer Baths cool'd with great quantities of Snow. All his Entertainments were magnificent, and laſted from Noon till Midnight. He eat ſometimes in one publick place, ſometimes in another, ſometimes in the great *Cirque*, and ſometimes in the Field of *Mars*: And to ſhew that he liked no place like *Rome*, he made uſe of the whole City as of a private Houſe. That which was moſt ſcandalous was, that he invited infamous Women to his Feaſts, of whom, the moſt impudent were the moſt agreeable to him. If he went on the *Tiber* in calm Weather, to go and divert himſelf at *Oſtia*, there were to be ſeen on the Banks of this River, and on the Sea-ſhore, common Wenches, and even Ladies of Quality, who deſired him to land and buy ſome Merchandiſes of them. Sometimes he ſent his Friends word that he would come and Sup with them, and they pay'd very dear for this Honour, ſince it is certain, that with that Money alone, which they ſpent in pouring out Sweet-ſcented Waters every where, and in perfumiug the Crowns which the Gueſts put on their Heads, they might have made very ſumptuous Feaſts. *Sophonius Tigellinus*, to entertain him, built on the famous Pond of *Agrippa*, a very great Ship, into which the Courſes were carried, without confuſion, on rich Barks adorned with Gold and Ivory: They were ſerv'd up by Youths that were carefully inſtructed in the moſt criminal Pleaſures, and rank'd according to the progreſs which they had made in this wicked Science. The abundance of Veni-

(*a*) Dio *l.* 4. *c.* 5. Cælius Rhodiginus *l.* 21. *c.* 19.

Veniſon and Wild-fowl that was there, was ſurprizing; and that which *Italy* could not furniſh was brought thither from the remoteſt Provinces. There were built round the Pond convenient Houſes, where Ladies of Quality proſtituted themſelves; and on the other ſide were to be ſeen naked Wenches, who by their motions and their geſtures repreſented the moſt ſhameful and obſceneſt things in Nature. In the Evening were lighted a prodigious number of Flambeaus in the Woods which were about the Pond, and in the neighbouring Houſes, which ſounded out Love-Songs, whilſt *Nero*, without regard either to Condition or Sex, committed Crimes which can ſcarce fall under the moſt debauched Imagination. Some will have it that *Nero* made this vile and ſhameful Entertainment for *Tigellinus*.

To expreſs his Brutality in a few Words, it is ſufficient to ſay, that *Voodicia*, Queen of the *Iceni*, inſtead of calling him *Domitius* or *Nero*, commonly called him *Domitia* and *Neronia*: And thoſe who are modeſt, will be willing without doubt, that I add no more to it. The paſſion which he had for his Mother was abominable; and Hiſtory hath not forgot to mention the ſpots which were ſeen on his Gown when he returned from taking the Air, whither he often carried her in his Litter. As it was no difficult matter for her to perceive this Love, and ſhe deſired nothing but to maintain that Authority which ſhe had got, and her natural Ambition made her break thro' all that is ſacred and inviolable in the World; ſhe preſented her ſelf before him, dreſs'd more than ordinarily, when his Head was heated with Wine, and doubted not but that he would in this Condition demand of her what ſhe was in her Heart willing enough to grant him. He had alſo the ſatisfaction from her that he wiſhed for, if (a) *Aurelius Victor* hath not judg'd raſhly of him, altho' others believe, that he was taken off from this Love by Perſons who began to murmur

(a) *Inter hæc etiam matrem contaminaſſe plures habent. In* Cæſaribus. *Matrem etiam ſtupro contaminavit. In* Epitome.

againſt it, for fear leſt this haughty and cruel Woman ſhould grow more inſolent by this dreadful Liberty. It is ſaid that *Seneca* made uſe of one *Acte* a freed Woman, who was much in *Nero*'s favour, to acquaint him that his Mother gloried in her Inceſt; and that the *Romans*, if he took not care, would not long obey a Prince who had made the Gods his Enemies by ſo great a Crime. But what may not be ſaid of a Princeſs who ſuffered her ſelf to be debauched by *Lepidus*, in hopes of Empire? who from the ſame principle of Ambition proſtituted her ſelf to *Pallas*, who was no more than the Son of a Freed-man? who granted her own Uncle ſecret Favours, and who afterwards married him to no other End but to uſurp his Authority, or at leaſt to divide it with him. Beſides, What may we not conclude of an Emperor, who judging of all others by himſelf, affirmed, *That in a certain part of the Body there was no Man that was Chaſt?* Who violated a Veſtal; who forced young *Aulus Plemeius* before he condemned him to Death; who abuſed his Brother *Brittanicus*, and who committed Inceſts and Sacrileges. After he had cauſed Perſons of both Sexes to be faſtned to Poſts, he covered himſelf with the Skins of Wild-beaſts, and leaping with violence out of a Cavern in which he had put himſelf, he ſatisfied his brutiſh Luſt, but in too villainous a manner to be related here. He thought fit to make a Girl of *Sporus* who was a beautiful Boy, and by the help of Iron to give him what he had not, and to take from him what he had. He married him in this Condition with all the Ceremonies which were practiſed in Marriages; aſſigned him a Dowry; carried him thro' *Greece*, and all the Streets of *Rome*, clad in the Attire of an Empreſs; Careſs'd and Kiſs'd him in the ſight of all the People; upon which ſome ſaid, *It was a great misfortune to Mankind, that his Father* Domitius *had not married ſuch a Wife.* What he had done to *Sporus*, he did afterwards to his Freed-man, whom *Tacitus* names (*a*) *Pythagoras.*

(*a*) Suetonius *calls him* Doryphorus, *but* Lipſius *in his Comment on this paſſage of* Tacitus, *Errare Tranquillum aio, quoniam* Doryphorus *ante mortuus.*

thagoras. After he had proſtituted himſelf to him for ſome time, he had a deſire to be his Wife; and the Formalities of this Marriage were ſo exact, that he covered his Head with a Vail which Brides were wont to wear on their Wedding-day; Flambeaus were lighted, the (*b*) Auſpicies taken or ſent, and all the other Ceremonies obſerv'd. There was one which this new Bride could not endure; for this being an uncommon Marriage, ſhe gave liberty for that to be ſeen which the Night conceals in common Marriages.

But when *Dido*'s Riches were not found, *Ceſellius Baſſus* prevented by his Death that puniſhment which he was to expect; and the State not being able longer to contribute to the prodigious Expences of *Nero*, nor even to the payment of the old Troops, this profuſe Man gave them to underſtand, That there was no reaſon to decry him, or complain of him; and that thoſe who could rob unpuniſhed were never poor. Remembring that Freedmen, according to Cuſtom, bore the Name of their Maſters, he appropriated to himſelf the ninth Part of the Eſtates of thoſe who had taken upon them, without any lawful Cauſe, the names of *Domitius* or *Claudius*, which were the names of his two Families. He Confiſcated the Eſtates, and made void the Wills of thoſe who had ſuch Ingratitude to their Prince as to leave him nothing; made even thoſe culpable who had written or dictated them; condemn'd thoſe who had ſpoken ill of him, when he found an Informer, and he had always enough of thoſe Cattel. As there was wont to be given a certain Sum of Money in the publick Games, beſides the Crowns with which alone he had always conſented, he required that Money to be paid him which he had before refuſed: And having ſent a certain Man up and down to ſell privately Purple and Violet colours, after he had forbid the uſe of them, he ordered all the Merchants who had been ſo bold as to

(*a*) *De* Auſpiciis *ad v.* 36 & 37. Heſiod *in* Ἡμέρ. Euphorion *ad* Apollodor. Hoas Apollo *Hierolog.* 8. Ælian. *l.* 3. *c.* 9. Plin, *l.* 10,

buy them to be impriſoned. Having obſerved, as he ſung, a Woman of Quality in Purple, he made his Comptrollers take notice of her, and ſhe was deprived both of her Gown and her whole Eſtate. To ſhew that he was of a Humour to make his advantage of all Preſents, he never gave an Office but he ſaid, *You know what I want; let us manage it ſo that there may be nothing for others*; and thus he either put his Favours to Intereſt or ſold them. *Italy* was reduced to extremity by the Contributions which he exacted from it; and there was no Tyranny which he did not exerciſe in the free Cities and Provinces. All the Allies were ſubject to the ſame Impoſts; and the Gold vvhich had been conſecrated at *Rome* in publick Vovvs, or in Triumphs, in good or bad Fortune; vvhat vvas moſt magnificent and moſt ſacred in all *Aſia* and in *Greece*, vvas taken out of the Temples. He took thence even the Statues and Images of Gold or Silver to melt them dovvn; and the Tutelar Gods of all People vvere reckoned amongſt his Rapines.

He vvas not yet arrived at his greateſt Extravagancies, having ſome avve of *Agrippina*, vvho had amaſſed vaſt Riches, vvas povverful in the State, held Intelligencies in all parts, and vvas the moſt inſolent and cruel of her Sex. But as he had a violent paſſion for *Acte*, vvho began to govern him, and vvhom ſometime after he vvould marry, *Agrippina* ſavv her Authority leſſened by this Amour; and vvas yet more ſurprized to ſee him take the Cognizance and Adminiſtration of Affairs from his Favourite *Pallas*. She complained publickly of her Son's Ingratitude, and mingled Menaces vvith her Reproaches. This vvas not all, for ſhe vvas tranſported enough to ſay, *That* Brittanicus *was yet alive*; *That he was the legitimate and ſole Succeſſor of* Claudius; *That ſhe would preſent him to the Soldiers even in their Camp*; *and it ſhould be ſeen whether the Daughter of* Germanicus *could get the better of* Burrhus, *who was a pitiful Fellow, and of* Seneca, *who was no more than a Pedant and an Exile.* The latter had been baniſhed into *Corſu* in the firſt Year of the Reign of *Claudius*, vvho ſuſpected him of a Love

Love Intrigue with *Julia* the Daughter of *Germanicus.*

Sometime after the Feaſt called the *Saturnalia* was celebrated, and amongſt other Diverſions, it happen'd, that thoſe who were much of the ſame Quality and Age drawing Lotts *who ſhould be King*, the Lott fell on *Nero*, who commanded *Brittanicus* to ſtand up and ſing a Song, to render him ridiculous to the Company. This young Prince, who had noble Inclinations, ſung well, and knowing the injuſtice that had been done him, roſe up without any concern, and to ſuit his Song to his misfortune, ſung Verſes expreſſing, *That it was from him that the Empire was uſurped. Nero* was ſenſible of this bold ſtroke, and had a ſubtil Poiſon prepared for *Brittanicus*, who aſſoon as he had taken it in his Drink fell down dead. They who ſupp'd in the Banquitteng-room were frighted; and notwithſtanding all the conſtraint that *Agrippina* put on her ſelf, it was viſible in her Eyes and her Countenance, that ſhe was ſo far from conſenting to this action, that ſhe had a horrour for the inhumanity of her Son, who to encourage the Company ſaid without the leaſt concern, *That it was nothing, and that he was very ſubject to the Falling-Evil.* Having rid himſelf of this young Prince, he contrived how to deſtroy his Mother; but when he had thrice attempted to Poiſon her without Effect, becauſe ſhe uſed Antidotes, he gave order that they ſhould looſen the Ceiling of her Bed-Chamber, ſo that it might fall upon her on a ſuddain.

This deſign having been diſcovered, *Anicetus*, who commanded an Arm of the Sea, who was the Emperor's Freed-man and Confident, and had ſerved him as a Pedant, aſſured him that he would not be wanting to him on occaſion. He offered to build a certain Ship which ſhould ſpring a Leak of it ſelf, repreſented to him that this being an infallible way to drown *Agrippina*, the Winds and Waters only would be accuſed of this diſaſter; and eſpecially to cover the Fact, he ſhould dedicate a Temple to his Mother. He approved of this Invention, and when he went to *Bajæ* to celebrate the ſolemn Feaſt of *Minerva*, which laſted five Days, he entreated her by Letters full of Kindneſs to come and

ſee him there, vvhich ſhe did, after ſhe believed that he deſired it for no other end but to reconcile himſelf to her. Having vvaited for her on the Shore, he received her vvith a thouſand marks of Kindneſs; conducted her to *Bauli*, vvhich vvas a Houſe of Pleaſure, ſituated betwixt the Cape of *Miſenum* and the Lake of *Bajæ*; treated her very ſplendidly there, and kiſs'd her Breaſts ſometimes. The Night was clear and the Sea calm, and whilſt ſhe was talking with two Perſons of her Train in the Pinnace which was deſigned for them, and which moved very ſlowly, the Roof laden with Lead fell upon *Creperius* and preſſed him to death. The Beams which bended over *Agrippina*'s Head were ſtrong enough to bear this weight; beſides the Ship did not open quick enough, nor ſink all at once, by reaſon the Rowers not agreeing, ſome inclined on one ſide to ſink her whilſt the others did their utmoſt to keep her up. In this diſorder *Acerronia* is knock'd down with the blows of Levers and Oars; *Agrippina* is hurt on the Shoulder, and throws her ſelf into the Water, and by chance met with a Boat which took her up, and carried her to a Houſe in the Country.

Nero upon the firſt advice that he received of it, ſent for *Seneca* and *Burrhus*; ſet before them, That ſhe would immediately preſent her ſelf before the Senate and the People; that ſhe would make an Inſurrection among the Soldiers; that to revenge her ſelf ſhe would Arm even the Slaves; and it was concluded that *Anicetus* ſhould finiſh what he had begun. He performed what he had undertaken; and having made himſelf Maſter of the Houſe where ſhe was, with thoſe whom he had choſen for this deſign, killed her with Clubs and Swords. Upon this news *Nero* had a curioſity to ſee her dead; commended ſeveral parts of her Body which he thought handſome, and diſpraiſed ſeveral others, and drank over it.

After this Murther, which diſquieted him, he was in a doubt whether he ſhould go to *Rome*; but he reſolved at laſt to go thither, upon the aſſurance that was given him, that the Name of *Agrippina* was a name of hatred and horror in moſt Families. His entrance into it was mag-

magnificent; and the Senate expreſs'd ſo much joy for her Death, that they order'd publick Proceſſions to be made for it. *Burrhus*, ſometime after, fell ſick of a Squinanzy; and notwithſtanding *Nero* owed the Empire to him, he cauſed Poiſon to be poured down his Throat. Having enquired of him about his Health in a Viſit which he made him, *Burrhus*, who found out his perfidiouſneſs, turned his Eyes on the other ſide, that he might not ſee him, and anſwered briskly, *I am well.* He afterwards order'd *Sylla* to be murthered in *Gallia Narbonnenſis*; *Plautus* in *Aſia*; and divorced *Octavia*, who was a moſt vertuous Princeſs, under a pretence of Barrenneſs, to marry *Poppæa* who had been his Miſtreſs before: But he was conſtrained to take *Octavia* again, becauſe all the World murmur'd at what he had done; and it was then that the Statues of *Poppæa* were thrown down and thoſe of *Octavia* dreſſed up with Flowers, carried in ſolemnity on Mens Shoulders, and ſet up in the publick Places and the Temples. This by no means pleaſed him, altho he diſſembled his reſentment; and well perceiving that he could not freely enjoy *Poppæa* without deſtroying his Wife, he baniſhed her as an Adultreſs, and ſent People who bound her and cut all the Veins of her Body, and carried her Head to *Rome* to be expoſed to the ſight of her Rival. After he had filled his Houſe with Blood, he reſolved to lay the City of *Rome* in Aſhes; and of fourteen Quarters there were three totally conſumed by Fire, and ſeven others half burnt. This Conflagration laſted ſix Days and ſeven Nights, whilſt he ſtood to behold it from the top of *Mecænas*'s Tower, he ſung in the habit of the Stage, *The deſtruction of* Troy; and ſome parts which the Flames ſpared he order'd to be demoliſhed with Engines. Beſides a vaſt number of Men, Women and Children, Statues, Palaces, Houſes adorned with the rich Spoils of Enemies, the Fire conſumed the Temples of *Hercules*, of the *Moon*, of *Jupiter Stator*, and the Tutelar Gods of the *Roman* People.

Altho' he was the Author of this Conflagration, and People knew it well enough, yet he accuſed the Chriſtians who were at *Rome* of it. Some of whom were expoſed in the Skins of wild Beaſts to Dogs which tore them

them to pieces; others were roaſted or burnt by Night in Coats daub'd with Sulphur and Pitch, to ſerve for Flambeaus to Paſſengers; and he offered his own Gardens for this great Spectacle.

Whilſt his Cruelties continued, a great Conſpiracy was formed againſt him, in the Conſulſhip of *Silius Nerva* and *Atticus Veſtinus*; but the Conſpiracy being diſcovered by *Milichus*, a Freed-man of the Senator *Flavius Scevinus*, he cauſed the Authors and Accomplices of it to be puniſhed. The Poet *Lucan* was involved in this Calamity; and *Sulpicius Aſper*, a Captain, being ask'd by *Nero*, wherefore he attempted to murther him, anſwered in few Words, *Becauſe his Crimes could be reformed no other way but by his Death.* The Tribune *Subrius Flavius* ſhewed the ſame Conſtancy, and to the Queſtion which he asked him, *How he could be unfaithful to him?* anſwered, *I ſerved you and loved you when I found you were worthy of my Affection and Service; but I began to hate you after I ſaw you the Murtherer of your Mother and your Wife, and become a Coachman, a Player, and an Incendiary.* Some have believed that it was the Counſel of *Flavius*, that after they had diſpatched *Nero* they ſhould kill *Piſo*, in favour of whom the Conſpiracy was made, and that the Empire ſhould be given to *Seneca*, as to a Man who merited it by his Vertue; and whoſe Life was without blame. *Seneca*, altho' Innocent as was believed, had the Fate of the reſt, and Philoſophy died with him.

Altho' *Nero* loved *Poppæa* paſſionately, and ſhe was great with Child, he killed both Child and Mother with a kick, becauſe ſhe reproached him for returning very late from Horſe-racing; and to appeaſe her after her death, he would make her funeral Oration, wherein he failed not to extol the great advantages ſhe had received from Nature and Fortune, He ordered her Body to be Embalmed after the manner that Foreign Kings were Embalmed, according to *Tacitus*, or burnt after the *Roman* Faſhion, as *Pliny* (a) ſaith, who adds, that

(a) Plin. *l.* 12. *c.* 18. Meurſ. *de Luxu* Roman. *c. ult.*

that there was more Cinnamon put into her Funeral Pile, than *Arabia* produceth in a whole Year. He alſo dedicated a Temple to her at *Lesbos*, under the title of *the* Sabine *Goddeſs Venus*; and to teſtifie how much he loved her, he gave *Sporus* the name of *Sabina*, according to *Dio Caſſius*, or of *Poppæa*, as *Dio Chryſoſtom* will have it. To all his Murthers he added that of *Domitia Lepida*, his Father's Siſter; of *Antonia*, Daughter of *Ælia Petina* and *Claudius*; becauſe having demanded her in Marriage, after the Death of *Poppæa*, ſhe durſt not reſolve on ſo hazardous a part. When it was told him that *Ruffinus Criſpinus*, the Son of *Poppæa*, who was very young, playing with Children of his own Quality and Age, had drawn up little Armies in Battel, and that he was declared General of them, he gave order that he ſhould be drowned when he went a fiſhing. He poiſoned moſt of his Freed-men, and amongſt others *Doryphorus*, for oppoſing his Marriage with *Poppæa*; *Pallas* becauſe he was now very old, and had for a long time poſſeſſed great Riches. Upon pretences of the like nature, he put to Death *Salvidianus Orfitus*, for having lett to Strangers three of his Shops on the ſide of the Exchange; *Caſſius Longinus* for having put the Statue of *Julius Cæſar* among thoſe of his Anceſtors; and *Torquatus Silanus*, of a noble Family, for having boaſted that *Auguſtus* was his great Grand-father. He exerciſed the ſame Cruelty on *L. Silanus*, becauſe he had Wit and Intereſt enough to diſturb the State; on *L. Vetus*, his Mother-in-law *Sextia*, and his Daughter *Pollutia*, becauſe having deſtroyed *Rubellius Plautus*, Son-in-law to *Vetus*, the Father-in-law, the Mother-in-law and the Daughter might poſſibly reſent it. On pretences which he alone was capable to find, he alſo put to Death *Oſtorius* becauſe he was Strong and Valiant; *Numicius Thermus* becauſe *Tigillinus* hated him; and *Pætus Thraſea* becauſe he had a ſerious Countenance. Thoſe whom he ſentenced to Death had but an Hour allowed them to prepare themſelves for it; and he had a Fancy to have given Men to be devoured by a voracious *Egyptian* who was at *Rome*, and who lived on raw Fleſh. Amongſt all the great Deſigns which he had

had projected, he was reſolved to give the Conduct of his Armies, and the Government of his Provinces to his Freed-men; to poiſon the Senators in Feaſts that he intended to make for them; to aboliſh the whole order by theſe means; alſo to burn the City of *Rome* (*a*), and to hinder the People from extinguiſhing the Fire, to let looſe wild Beaſts on all ſides.

Whilſt *Nero* was employed in filling his Imagination with Blood and Fire, *Caius Julius Vindex*, a Senator, and the Son of a Senator, made an Inſurrection againſt this Tyrant, with all the Troops which he commanded in the *Gauls*, where he was in Quality of Vice-Prætor; and *Galba*, who commanded then in *Spain*, did the ſame. At this news he ſaid ſeriouſly to ſome, *That he would play on the Organs in full Theatre, provided that* Vindex *oppoſed not this Deſign*; and to others, *That he would take a Journy into the* Gauls, *there to move the moſt rebellious and obſtinate to pity with his Tears*; *and when they ſhould have acknowledged their Offence, he would not fail the Day following to ſing in Verſe all the praiſes of the Victory.* As he prepared for this Journey, his great care was to provide Waggons to be made fit to carry the Inſtruments of Muſick, which he uſed in Comedies and Farces, and to arm all the Miſtreſſes that he would take with him, with Axes and Bucklers. That which he could not bear was, that *Vindex* called him *Ænobarbus* inſtead of *Nero*; that he diſgraced him in all his Edicts as a paultry Muſician; and he ſaid, that they might reproach him with a great many other things as falſely as with ignorance in an Art which had coſt him ſo much pains, and which he was skilled in to the utmoſt perfection. Being carried privately into the Theatre, where certain Plays were acted, and obſerving that the Farce Player gave the Company great Diverſion, he ſent him Word, *That he abuſed his Employment*; letting him know alſo, that he had great Affairs on his hands, otherwiſe he would have carried the Prize from

(*a*) *vid.* Baron. *in Ann. Chriſti* 66. Cauſab. *ad* Sueton. *Neronem c.* 38.

from him. But now the Magiſtrates and the People's Eyes were open, underſtanding that beſides the horrid Deſigns which he propoſed, he had a deſire to ſend away Armies as ſecretly as he could, which ſucceeding one another, ſhould turn their Arms againſt themſelves; to proceed againſt the Governors of Provinces as Accomplices in the Conſpiracy of *Vindex* and *Galba*; to maſſacre all the Exiles and *Gauls* in *Rome*. He conſulted afterwards, whether he ſhould go and meet *Galba* or the *Parthians*, with all the ſubmiſſion imaginable, whether he ſhould go abroad in publick clad in Mourning; and betwixt fear and hope he went to Bed and deferred all to the next Day.

After having ſlept ſome time he awaked, and ſeeing his Guards were gone away he ſought for them, but found them not. When he had ſent ſome People to bring him an account of what had paſſed, and theſe People came not again, he returned haſtily to his Chamber, whence they had already taken a Gold Box full of Poiſon, and the Coverlets of his Bed. In this deſperate condition he enquired for the Gladiator *Spicillus*, to deſire him to run his Sword through his Body: But *Spicillus* not coming to him, and thoſe who were about him having a horror to embrue their Hands in their Maſter's Blood, he cry'd out, *What! neither a Friend nor an Enemy!* and ran to throw himſelf headlong into *Tiber*. But ſtopping himſelf all on a ſuddain, and his Freed-man *Phaon* having offered him a Houſe very near *Rome*, he went from the *Servilian* Gardens where he was, without having time to take a Gown and Shoes; he was conducted to this Houſe whither he came by a By-path, which was covered with Reeds, and with ſo great difficulty, that the Thorns had torn in pieces the Garment which they had given him in haſt to cover himſelf. The ſame Freed-man adviſed him to hide himſelf in a certain place, whence Gravel had been taken, but he anſwer'd, *That he would not go under the Earth alive*; and when he was oppreſſed with Thirſt, and took very dirty Water out of a Ditch in his Hand, he ſaid, *Here's* Nero's *delicious Drink!* The four Perſons who accompanied

him

him, and ſaw things were come to extremity, importuned him to prevent the laſt Evil that threatned him; ſo that having order'd a Pit to be digg'd, he commanded them to get Water to waſh his Body, and Wood to burn it, continually repeating, *What a player on the Harp dieth to Day!* In the mean time *Phaon*, one of his Servants, arrived with ſome Letters, in which *Nero* read, *That he was declared the Enemy of his Country by the Senate, and that they ſought for him to puniſh him according to the ancient Cuſtom.* He asked what that Cuſtom was, and they having anſwered him, that the Criminal was led naked by the Executioner, in the ſight of all the People, his Neck faſtned betwixt the two Branches of a Fork, and ſo ſcourged to Death, he took two Daggers, whoſe Points he try'd, but ſheathing them again ſaid, *That his time was not yet come.* In this diſorder, in which he begg'd *Sporus* to lament him, he conjured the others to kill themſelves, to oblige him undauntedly to follow ſo noble an Example. But when he heard the Horſemen who were in purſuit of him, he took a Dagger, wherewith he gave himſelf a ſtab in the Breaſt with a trembling Hand, on the fifteenth of *June*, A. M. 4039, A. D. 69. and 54 Years after the death of *Auguſtus*. He had need alſo of *Epaphroditus* to thruſt it home; and knowing the Captain who forced his way into the Houſe, and who under pretence to ſerve him, bound up his Wound, he only ſaid, *It is to late! and, Is this your Fidelity?* After theſe Words he expired; and as his Eyes ſeem'd to be ſtarting out of his Head, and his Looks became fix'd, he frighted even in dying the Perſons that look'd upon him. The Day of his Death was a Feſtival to the whole Empire; and the People, who had a long time languiſhed under Slavery, ran immediately thro' all the Streets with Caps on their Heads, as a mark of Liberty. His Funeral coſt not above 20000 Crowns according to ſome, altho' *Meurſius* hath made the Expences of it amount to ten Millions, in which he is manifeſtly miſtaken; and when *Ecloge* and *Alexandra*, his Nurſes, laid his Aſhes in the Sepulchre of the *Domitii*, they laid up the Aſhes of a Monſter.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

GALBA.

Servius Sulpitius Galba, the Son of *Servius Sulpitius Galba*, and of *Mummia Achaïcha*, was born the twenty fourth of *December*, in a Village near *Terracina*, in the Conſulſhip of *M. Valerius Meſſala*, and *C. Lentulus*, A. M. 3969. two Years before the birth of our Lord Chriſt; he lived ſeventy three Years, and reigned ſeven Months and ſix Days. He was ſlain according to *P. Anthony Pagi*, on the fifteenth of *January*.

He was not of the Blood of the *Cæſars*, for their Race was extinct with *Nero*; but in regard of his Birth he was worthy to ſucceed them. In the Family of the *Sulpicii*, from whom he deſcended, one had the ſurname of *Galba*, which deſcended afterwards to his Poſterity; and for this name you may conſult *Suetonius* or (a) *Beſoldus*, in his Treatiſe *Of the Nature of People, and the origine and change of Languages.* He was adopted by *Livia Ocellina*, who was ſecond Wife to his Father *Galba*, which made him take the name of *Livius Ocella*; and *Livia*, the Wife of *Auguſtus*, had ſo great an Eſteem for him, that ſhe left him about 280000 Crowns by her Will, which were reduced by *Tiberius* to 80000, which alſo were not paid him. This injuſtice did not trouble him, and he bore it with patience; for all private Men who were by Fortune raiſed to the Empire, there was none that could be compared to him for Riches.

By

(a) *Videantur etiam* Acerius *ad Feſtum in* Calbei, Rob. Keuchenius *notis ad* Q. Serenum Sumonichum, *p.* 272, *ubi de* Galbeo, Calbeo & Boxhorn. *de Originibus* Gallicis, *p.* 35. *præcipue vero* Bochartus *qui è* Phœnicio Cheleb, *i. e. pinguedo nomen* Galbæ *deducit.*

By his Wife *Lepida* he had two Children, who died young; and after the death of this Lady he would never have another, altho' *Agrippina*, the Widow at that time of *Domitius Ænobarbus* courted him to marry her.

(a) *Galba* was middle-sized, had an Aquiline Nose, greenish Eyes, a bald Head, a long and wrinkled Face. The Gout had so knotted his Feet and Hands that he could not suffer his Shoes to be put on; could neither open Letters nor hold them; and he had a Wenn in his left side, which hung very long, and incommoded him so much, that it was a Pain to him to gird himself with a Girdle of fine Cloth. He was fearful, a great Eater, Lazy, Grave, Credulous and Severe; had but little Wit; was covetous of the publick Revenue, managed well his own, according to *Tacitus*, and envied not other Men's. Altho' it was very easie for him to have gained esteem he made little Ostentation, or if he boasted, he added nothing to the Truth. When he was a private Person he gave the People occasion to entertain a very good Opinion of him; and had he never been Emperor, all People had believed that he well deserved to have been so. If he had Vertues they were no shining ones; and if he had also but few Vices, as *Tacitus* saith, he had one according to *Suetonius* that was abominable. Indeed he did not much consider Age in his foul Amours; and the Reader will pardon me if I am obscure where I am ashamed to make my self understood.

He had Intimations given him of his future Grandeur by several Presages, which I am content to reduce to two, for he must be very weak who believes the rest. When his Grandfather was sacrificing, to avert a Calamity with which he had been threatned by a flash of Lightning, an Eagle came with a swoop and fell upon him, and having snatched from him the Entrails which he was then holding to observe them, carried them afterwards to the top of an Oak laden with Acorns.

(a) Sueton. *in* Galba, *c.* 20. Tacit. *Hist. l.* 1. *c.* 49.

corns. Having conſulted the Sooth-ſayers upon this accident, they aſſured him that ſome one of his Family, ſhould in his old Age be exalted to a great Empire, which made him reply, *This ſhall be when a Mule brings forth young.* The thing came to paſs, and altho' this Prodigy was generally eſteemed of ill Omen; *Galba*, who remembred both the Sacrifice and his Grandfather's anſwer, expounded it ſecretly to his own advantage. Alſo *Tiberius*, who was skil'd in Aſtrology, after he had diſcourſed with him about divers Matters, told him for a concluſion, according to *Tacitus*, *And thou* Galba, *ſhalt one Day taſte of the Empire*, or according to *Suetonius*, *Thou mayeſt live in peace ſince thy Reign doth not come near us*, foreſeeing well, that he ſhould be very old before he was Maſter of the World.

After *Caligula*'s death he was preſſed by ſome of his Confidents to make uſe of the opportunity which offer'd it ſelf, and to employ the favour of the People, force of Arms, and all the Intereſt of his Friends, to obtain the ſovereign Power. But whatſoever Council they gave him, and Promiſes they made him, he had no thoughts but for repoſe, and he found it more happy than Empire. It was chiefly for this reaſon that *Claudius* would have him in the *Band of his Friends*, that is to ſay, *Claudius* would have him one of thoſe who were always about him; and he had ſo great an eſteem for him, that he falling ſuddainly ſick, the Day of his Journey into *Great Britain* was deferred, altho' his ſickneſs was no ways dangerous. As he loved neither Novelty nor Change, he delighted in nothing but Retirement, that he might not be ſuſpected by *Nero*; and he anſwered his Friend who reproached him with this idle Life, *That Idleneſs was a thing whereof one was not obliged to give an account*; Notwithſtanding this, he was raiſed to the Office of Pretor; and I muſt here take notice by the way, that beſides many other Rights which belonged to this Office, the Pretor had Power to conſtitute Judges for private Cauſes; to chuſe Guardians for Minors; to put thoſe in poſſeſſion of their Eſtates who had been diſpoſſeſs'd by Tricks and Artifices. He gave Liberty to Slaves; aſſembled the Senate in the Conſul's abſence;

preſided in the Election of Magiſtrates, and was of the Council when affairs of State were under deliberation. Being obliged as Pretor to give the People ſome Shew, he ſhewed them Elephants in the Games of *Flora* which walked admirably on the Rope; and he very happily acquitted himſelf in all the reſt. He was of the Society of the *Titians*, of whom *Titus Titius*, the Head of the *Sabines* was Founder; and of the Society of the *Auguſtals*, who were certain Religious, inſtituted in Honour of *Auguſtus*; was thrice choſen Pretor; and to ſhew he was related to *Livia* the Wife of *Auguſtus*, he walkt from the imperial Palace, when he went to take poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip. The Actions which he performed in *Africk* and *Germany* procured him the Honour of a Triumph; and he did the State great Service both by his Counſel and his Conduct.

Being informed that, in a certain March, a Soldier had been ſo impudent as to ſell a Buſhel of Wheat, which was all that was left him to live on, for two Crowns, he very ſeverely forbid his fellow Soldiers to aſſiſt him, and the Soldier by reaſon of this Prohibition was ſtarved to death. There having been an enquiry about a Horſe to whom it belonged, the Proof of thoſe who claim'd it being ſlight, the Witneſſes on both ſides ſuſpected, and the Sale of it difficult, he order'd, they ſhould lead it Hood-wink'd to the place where he was wont to be water'd; that afterwards he ſhould have his ſight free, and be left to himſelf to which of their Houſes he would go of his own accord after he had drank.

He was ſevere in his Edicts, and even cruel in his Puniſhments. Becauſe a Banker had not dealt well with him in the change of Money, he ordered his Hands to be cut off and fix'd to his Shop. Altho' a *Roman* Citizen by the Laws could neither be bound, whip'd, nor hang'd, he regarded not the Privileges nor the Cuſtom; for a certain Guardian having been convicted of poiſoning his Pupil, to whom he was ſubſtituted Heir, he cauſed him to be hanged. When this *Roman* Citizen implored the benefit of the Laws, *Galba*, who knew that the Criminal ſtood on a point of Honour, commanded the Gibbet on which he was to be

be faſtned, ſhould be changed for him; that they ſhould provide one that was whiter and higher than all the reſt, as if he would mitigate his Pain, or comfort him for this Infamy.

They who gave him the Character of frugal have done him a Favour; but if they would have done him Juſtice, they ſhould have ſaid, that he was Covetous. There went a report, according to *Suetonius*, that a Supper that was a little too chargable coſt him ſome Tears; and that he made a Preſent of a diſh of Peaſe to his Steward in ordinary, who preſented his Book of Accompts to him. Having heard one *Canus* a Piper with pleaſure, he ordered his Cabinet to be fetch'd, whence he took a little Money, according to *Plutarch*, and made a Preſent of it to *Canus*, and would alſo have him made acquainted, That it was not of the publick Money but his own. *Suetonius* reduces this Sum to five Deniers, *i. e.* about two Shillings and ſix-pence of our Money. Howſoever that be, he regarded only Neceſſaries, and was never for Superfluities. But tho' this is ordinarily a Vertue in a private Man, 'tis almoſt a Vice in a Prince. He had alſo burdened with Taxes the Cities of *Spain* and *Gaul*, on pretence they had declared too late for him; and he cauſed their Walls to be raz'd, and their Governors and Receivers to be put to Death, not ſparing their Wives and Children. By this Action he added too great Cruelty to too great Avarice; and when he had the Gold Crown of fifteen Pounds weight (which the People of *Taraſcon* took out of *Jupiter*'s Temple) to be melted down; he commanded the three Ounces which were wanting of the weight to be made up. He broke the *German* Cohorts which had ſerved the Princes as their Guards, and given the *Cæſars* great proofs of their Fidelity: But the worſt was, that he ſent them into *Germany* without giving them any thing, adding, *That they ſhewed too much paſſion for* Dolabella. The Soldiers upon the Promiſe that was made them, having taken the Oath in his abſence, and the Commiſſaries going to him to deſire him to make good what they had promiſed, he anſwered, that he would not do it, with theſe Words, which had been

good at another time, *That he choſe Soldiers and was not accuſtomed to buy them.*

Altho' he was timerous, that is, not bold, yet he never wanted Courage when the good of the State or his own Glory was concerned; and he acquired great Reputation in *Germany*, when he commanded a great Army. The ſame Fortune followed him into *Africk*, where he executed the Office of Proconſul, and he Governed *Spain* eight Years. At the ſame time *Julius Vindex* was in *Gaul*, the Government of which he obtained by a remarkable Trick. As he deteſted the Tyranny of *Nero*, who out of his inſatiable Covetouſneſs, forced the *Romans* who were old or ſick to leave him ſomething by their Will, he thought fit often to uſe the Juice of Cummin to make himſelf pale. In this condition he ſuited his Inclinations to thoſe of his Prince as well as he could, without Crime or ſhame, and made him believe that he had ſome ſecret Diſtemper, which in all probability would prove mortal to him: He added, that he had a deſign to make him Heir of his whole Eſtate, and that he required only a Government for all this Kindneſs. *Nero*, who ſaw his pale Countenance, which he could impute to nothing but his Diſeaſe, ſent him ſoon after into *Gaul* in quality of Vice-Pretor, being well perſwaded that he ſhould make an advantage of his Will, and that his Diſeaſe was incurable. *Julius Vindex*, who was a Man of good Addreſs, Rich, Generous and Wiſe, made uſe of thoſe Qualities for his Deſign, and did not oblige the *Gauls* to revolt, but in hopes to reſtore that Liberty to the Common-wealth which it had loſt. He found ſo great a diſpoſition in them, that the Legions and the *Gauls* choſe him Emperor; but either he did not think he deſerved the Empire, or thought *Galba* was more worthy of it. It is certain he importuned him much by Letters, *To make himſelf Maſter of the World*, and in order thereunto, he offered him 100000 Men. *Galba* call'd together his beſt Friends, and as he conſulted them upon an Affair of this importance, *Titus Junius*, who commanded the Pretorian Legion, ſet before him, *That to deliberate whether he ought to be faithful to* Nero *was to be*

be unfaithful to him already. That he muſt either make his advantage of Vindex's *offers, or accuſe him and declare War againſt him for offering to make him Emperor, and depoſe* Nero *whoſe Tyranny was inſupportable to all Men.* From this moment he made all thoſe Free who deſired their Liberty; contented himſelf to take the Title of Lieutenant of the *Roman* People and Senate, altho' he had been already ſaluted with the title of Emperor; and when he underſtood that *Nero* had ordered all his Inheritances and Eſtate at *Rome* to be ſold, he ſet to Sale by ſound of Trumpet that which *Nero* had in *Spain.*

There was nothing talk'd of but Revolts; and *Galba*, whoſe Party ſtrengthned it ſelf, had none to fear but *Claudius Macer*, who was Pretor in *Africk*, and *Virginius Rufus*, who commanded the *German* Army. The latter, who declared publickly that he would have no Innovation; but yet in his Heart hated *Nero*, marched with his Forces into *Gaul* to have a Conference with *Vindex*; but they had hardly agreed betwixt themſelves when a Quarrel ariſing betwixt their Troops they came to Blows, with ſuch heat and obſtinacy that 20000 *Gauls* were unfortunately ſlain on the place. After this loſs *Vindex* killed himſelf, and he is rank'd in the number of the Emperors by *Julian*, *Lampridius*, *Vopiſcus* and *Spartianus.* Upon this News *Galba* was upon the point of following *Vindex*'s Example: But as he had ſome hopes left, and there being a report that the Legions were reſolved to return to *Nero*, if *Virginius* accepted not the Empire, which they unanimouſly offered him, he wrote a Letter to *Virginius*, and repreſented to him, that it was time to join their Forces, and to deliver the *Roman* People from their Slavery and Miſery. Some time after News was brought him that *Nero* had kill'd himſelf, to eſcape the Executioner's Hands; and *Titus Junius* told him alſo, that he was declared Emperor, by the whole Senate and all the People. In the mean time, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, the Captain of the Emperor's Guards, who had in *Galba*'s Name made great Promiſes to the Pretorian Souldiers which were at *Rome*, and who was in great Eſteem with them, had Courage

and Ambition enough to aſpire to the Sovereignty, altho' he was but the Son of a beautiful Freed-woman, that was vile enough to proſtitute her ſelf to Slaves. He made himſelf feared by the Magiſtrates; and when he permitted the People to put to Death ſome of *Nero*'s Domeſticks, the People Authorized him in his Inſolence; and they ſpared the Innocent no more than the Guilty. *Mauriſcus* ſaid in full Senate, *That they ſhould very ſoon lament* Nero. On the other ſide *Clodius Macer* had the ſame deſign that *Sabinus* had; and to procure himſelf to be choſen Emperor he reſolved to keep the Corn in *Africk*; and doubted not but the *Romans* would prefer him before *Virginius* and *Galba*, to keep themſelves from Famine.

Galba, who could not be ignorant of theſe things, continued to advance towards *Rome*, and *Virginius* went to meet him on his way, and accompanied him in his Journey, after he new the Decree of the Senate. *Nymphidius Sabinus* did not do ſo, and his Ambition coſt him his Life. For having been perſwaded by *Cnigonius Varro*, and *Mithridates*, to go to the Camp to try how far Fortune would carry him, he was ſlain there by the Soldiers; and without obſerving the leaſt Formalities of Law, *Galba* gave order, that all his Accomplices ſhould be put to Death. *Cnigonius* who was deſign'd Conſul, and *Petronius Turpilianus* who had been ſo were Condemned without being admitted to make their Defence; the former for having compoſed the Speech for *Nymphidius Sabinus* which he was to make to the Troops in the Camp; and the latter for having obeyed *Nero*'s Orders. When he was near the Gates of *Rome*, the Seamen and Galley-Slaves, of whom *Nero* had made Soldiers, went out to meet the Emperor, and demanded of him Colours for their Legion, and a Garriſon Town for them to Quarter in. But when *Galba* put them off to another time, they cryed out, that this delay was a refuſal, and ſome of them were ſo bold as to draw their Swords, whereupon he charged upon them with the Cavalry that followed him, and made a terrible Slaughter amongſt them. He Signalized his Entry into *Rome* with the Blood of theſe miſerable

miſerable People; and a while after diſpatched *Macer* in *Africk* by *Trebonius Garucianus*; and *Fonterius Capito* in *Germany*, by *Fabius Valens*. Some of *Nero*'s Domeſticks were uſed Inhumanly, and the Innocent were involved in the ſame Accuſations with the Guilty. The worſt was, that the Sovereign Power which he ought to have had, was ſhared betwixt *Titus Junius* the Conſul, who had been his Lieutenant in *Spain*, *Cornerius Laco* Steward of his Houſhould, and *Icellus* who from a Freed-man was become a *Roman* Knight; the Inſolence of the laſt had paſſed all Bounds, *Laco* was grown odious to all People, and the Avarice and Ambition of *Junius* could not be greater than they were. Theſe three Perſons who abuſed the Emperor's Authority, diſpoſed of Offices, Immunities and Priviledges; ſold the Sovereign's Favour, and the Lives of his Subjects.

Galba was aſleep amidſt all theſe Diſorders, and nothing leſs than whole Armies could awake him. Thoſe in *Germany* revolted. The Legions of *Tigellius* ſlighted his Orders. The Pretorian Bands reproached him with Ingratitude. The People condemned his Covetouſneſs: And the Senate already complained of his Cruelty. Notwithſtanding all this, he perſwaded himſelf, that it was nothing but his old Age that they were diſpleaſed at, and that to ſuppreſs all theſe Revolts, he needed only chuſe a Succeſſor. To this purpoſe he adopted (*c*) *L. Calpurnius Piſo Lucinianus*; but after *Nero* had been profuſe in private Gifts to the value of 55 Millions of Gold, and the *Romans* had accuſtomed themſelves to Luxury, Libertiniſm and Expence, they could not endure his Adoption of a ſober, modeſt and a ſevere Man. This Choice was ſo much the more reſented by *Otho*, becauſe he had always perſwaded himſelf that *Galba* would be Grate-

(*c*) *He was Son of* Marcus Lucinius Craſſus Frugi, *and of* Scribonia, Dio, *l.* 64. *p.* 730. De Erroribus Lipſij et Cauſaboni, vid. Ad. Ruperti obſervat. in Synopſi Beſorti minorem, *p.* 289.

ful; had done every thing to gain his Affection; had ſerved him with his Friends and his Counſel; was the the firſt of all the Governors of Provinces that declared for him; and had given him all his Gold and Silver Veſſels to Coin into Money. In this deſpair he went into the Camp, ſtir'd up the Troops againſt the Emperor, received their Oaths, ordered Arms to be taken out of the Arſenal, and found every thing to favour his Enterpriſe. The News was brought to *Galba*, who by the Counſel of ſome of his Friends, went out of the Palace to remedy this Diſorder; and when he was in the *Forum*, and ſaw a Body of Horſe upon him, he ſaid to the formoſt of them, *Strike boldly, if it be for the Publick Good.* In the ſame Inſtant one ſtruck him in the Breaſt with a Sword, and the reſt perceiving that he was armed with a Breaſt-plate, ran him through the Arms and Thighs in abundance of places. *A. M.* 4040. *A. D.* 70. *Piſo* frighted by this Diſaſter fled to the Temple of *Veſta*, but moſt of the Soldiers purſued him, and he was ſlain by *Sulpitius Florus*, and *Statius Marcus*, at the Gate of the Temple. Their Heads were preſented to *Otho*, who expreſed great Joy at the ſight; and gave *Galba*'s, according to *Suetonius*, to the Sutlers and the Soldiers Boys, who carried it on the point of a Spear round the Fort, making Jeſts upon it. *Piſo*'s was redeemed by his Wife; and when they had found *Galba*'s again they put it with his Body; which was taken up in the Dark, and carried into his Treaſurer's Garden, whoſe Name was *Argius*, who performed the laſt Office to him, in giving him Burial.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

OTHO.

(*a*) MArcus *Salvius Otho*, the Son of *L. Salvius Otho*, and of *Alba Terentia*, was Born in the Conſulſhip of *Camillus Aruntius* and *Domitius Ænobarbus*, the 20th of *April*, *A. M.* 4004. *A. D.* 34. He lived 36 Years according to ſome Authors, 37 according to *Aurelius Victor*, *Tacitus* and *Plutarch*; 38 according to *Suetonius*; and Reigned as *Joſephus* teſtifieth 3 Months and 2 Days. He was ſlain according to *F. Anthony Pagi* the 16th of *April*.

His Anceſtors were of the City of *Ferentina*, and his Family was very Ancient, and one of the Principal of *Hetruria*. His Grandfather *M. Salvius Otho* was the Son of a *Roman* Knight, married a Woman of very obſcure Birth, and it is a doubt whether ſhe was a Free-woman or a Slave. *L. Salvius Otho*, who was Counſul, had by *Alba Terentia*, that was a Woman of Quality, *Lucius Titianus Marcus Otho*, and a Daughter who had been promiſed to *Druſus Germanicus*, whom *Tiberius* ſtarved to Death. The Senate had ſo great an Eſteem for him, that they erected him a Statute in the Palace; and *Claudius* who believed that he knew the bottom of his Heart, added this Saying to all the Praiſes that he gave him in a full Aſſembly, *He is ſo good, that I do not wiſh to have Children better than he is.*

Sabina Poppæa the Daughter of *Titus Lollius* and of *Poppæa Sabina*, had no great difficulty to Charm *Otho*, who loved Women; and ſhe was one that wanted no Charms, (*b*). She was Young, Rich, Complaiſant and

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(*a*) Male quidem Silvius. Numi Greci, ΟΘΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Alij ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ Μ. ΟΘΩΝ ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑΣΤΟC. (*b*) Sueton *c.* 12. Tacit. Ann. *l.* 13. *c.* 45, 46. P. *l.* 11. *c.* 41. Sen. Trag. in *Octavio v.* 545.

and Ingenious; had a ſweet Temper, an agreeable Humour, a modeſt Air, and there were few *Roman* Ladies that could compare with her for Beauty. She was ſeldom ſeen in publick, and never appeared there, but with her Face half cover'd, either to leave all People that look'd on, the greater Curioſity; or becauſe this manner of covering her, gave her it may be new Graces. Beſides, *Otho*, who ſtudied nothing but his Diverſion, was Young, Curious and Splendid; and theſe Advantages were not diſpleaſing to *Poppæa* who was Voluptuous and Covetous. As ſhe preferred Money to Honour, and Pleaſure to both, the Demand ſoon followed the Declaration of Love, and he bought that which ſhe was forward enough to ſell. He went farther, and having taken her away from her Husband *Rufus Criſpinus*, a *Roman* Knight, he made this Adultreſs his Wife; and ceaſed not to repeat in *Nero*'s Preſence, *That he poſſeſſed Love and the Graces, and in* Poppæa *had found the Soverign Good. Nero*, who plac'd it in Pleaſure, was willing to judge of it; and after he had made ſome Viſits to *Poppæa*, who failed not to recompence him with any thing which he deſired, he was ſatisfied that *Otho* was undoubtly happier than himſelf. But when he went often to ſeek the Sovereign Good, and the Lady, who was cunning, had diſcovered the Emperor's Paſſion, ſhe thought fit to entertain him in a more haughty manner than ſhe was wont to do, to keep him always in Breath, and to encreaſe his Paſſion by reſiſtance. If ſhe gave him more than one Night, ſhe ſaid, *That he was handſome, and ſhe was not able to hold out againſt his Beauty; That he knew how to Love, and that ſhe had granted all to his Love, but a Slave was his Miſtreſs; That he had loſt in the Converſation of* Acte, *the fine thought which made him once admired.* She added, *That ſhe could not quit her Husband who treated her ſo obligingly, that it was not poſſible for* Nero *himſelf to treat her better. That* Otho *had a great Soul, and a ſplendid Equipage, and that ſhe ſaw nothing in him that was not worthy of the higheſt Fortune.* This which was enough to diſcourage another, created Jealouſy in the Emperor, who could no longer look upon

upon *Otho*, but as an Obſtacle to his Love, and who ſent him into *Portugal*, in quality of Governour of that Province, that himſelf might have greater Liberty, and no Rival to fear. *Poppæa* in the abſence of her Husband, accompliſhed the reſt, and importuned *Nero* to Marry, after ſhe had prevailed with him by her Artifices to rid himſelf of *Octavia*. *Poppæa* had ordinarily 500 ſhe Aſſes which followed her, for Baths to be made of their Milk, to keep her in good plight and clear skin by theſe fat Baths.

Otho was of a low Stature, had a bald Head, crooked Legs, and walked ill. To ſupply the want of his Hair he wore a Perruke; he had his Beard ſhaved every Day, altho' he had but little; covered his Face with Bread ſoaked in Aſſes Milk to make his Complexion ſmoother, ſofter and fairer; and pulled all the Hair from his Body with little Pincers. If they who often conſult the Glaſs endeavour either to pleaſe themſelves, or to pleaſe others, he was ſubject to both theſe Paſſions; and altho' he was naturally neat, he took ſo much care in dreſſing himſelf, that he made it almoſt his whole Study. To conclud, he was Civil, Complaiſant, Voluptuous, Credulous, Ambitious, Liberal and even Prodigal; diffident and irreſolute in Proſperity; wiſe and reſerved under Misfortunes; unquiet in his wiſhes and expectation of things future; and there was nothing in the World that was more capable to confound him than Uncertainty.

In his younger Years he vvas much inclined to Evil, and vvhen he vvent abroad ſometimes at Night, and met People that had drank too much, or that vvere not able to defend themſelves, he laid hold on them, and throvving them on a Blanket vvhich vvas ſtretched out for his purpoſe, took pleaſure to toſs them in it. But he inſenſibly laid aſide thoſe Inclinations vvhich might be a diſadvantage to him, and applied himſelf vvholly to make himſelf great. After the Death of his Father *L. Salvius Otho*, he counterfeited a Paſſion for a Freedvvoman, vvho vvas almoſt 60 Years old, and had great Povver at Court. He vvas introduced there by her means, and he vvanted no long time to obtain *Nero*'s Favour.

Favour, ſeeing there vvas ſo great a Reſemblance betvvixt them, and their Confidence and Friendſhip vvas linked together by the ſame Crimes. He vvas aftervvards admitted to the moſt important Secrets of the Prince; and he confided ſo much in his Favour, that having undertaken the Cauſe of a Man vvho had been Conſul, and condemned for horrible Extortions vvhich he had committed in a Province he feared not to bring him forth in the Senate to return them Thanks even before he had fully obtained his Pardon.

He had a natural Inclination to Expence; and never invited *Nero* to Supper, but he diſtributed pieces of Gold to the Soldiers of the Guard. He vvas vvont alſo to perfume all the places vvhere they vvent, and *Plutarch* ſaith, that *Nero* having as a particular Favour ſprinkled ſome drops of very coſtly Oyl on him, to perfume him; *Otho* deſired him to Dine vvith him the next Day, and made ſo great a quantity of this Oyl run through Gold and Silver Pipes from all parts of the Room where they Dined, that the whole Place was waſhed with it. One of the Guards having a Controverſie with a Neighbour, about the Bounds of a Field, and having deſired him to be Arbitrator betwixt them, *Otho* bought the whole Field, and freed it from all the Charges and Duties which obliged the Proprietor. He gave 250 Crowns to every one of thoſe who at firſt declared for him againſt *Galba*, and promiſed every one of them 1250 more; and he muſt have been either very Prodigal, or very Magnificent, ſeeing he had ſcarce any of his Patrimony left, had ſpent all that *Nero* had given him, and wanted 550,000 Crowns to pay his Debts. I have already ſpoken of the Veſſels of Gold and Silver which he melted down after *Galba*'s Revolt; and to continue the ſame Expences which he had made, it was time that he was Emperor.

Some have believed, that under the colour of Marriage *Sabina Poppæa* was committed to his Truſt by *Nero*, who durſt not take her from her Husband *Criſpinus*, for fear the People, who knew well enough that he had Poyſoned *Britannicus*, ſhould Revolt if he Divorced *Octavia*, whoſe Vertue was admired by all the World, to

to Marry *Poppæa*, who was decried by her Adulterers. But as *Otho* loved her Paſſionately, he could not endure the Emperor ſhould divide his Happineſs with him; and without fearing what might be the fatal Conſequences of his Jealouſie, he thruſt out thoſe whom *Nero* had ſent to conduct *Poppæa* to the Palace, where he expected her, and even refuſed him for ſome time at the Gate. It is a Miracle that hath aſtoniſhed Hiſtorians, that *Nero*, who had Sacrificed his Wife, and his own Siſter to this *Poppæa*, expreſed no Reſentment againſt his Rival, who was his Creature; and who by the manner of his heating him ſeemed to defie his Cruelty, which was not often idle. But whether *Otho* was Jealous of the Emperor, according to *Suetonius*, or the Emperor of *Otho*, according to *Tacitus*, it was a pleaſant Scene enough; and it may be alſo *Poppæa*, who acted her part admirably, prevented the fatal Conſequences thereof.

Howſoever that be, *Otho* had the Government of *Portugal* committed to him; in the Adminiſtration whereof he ſhewed great Sweetneſs and Modeſty. But when *Vindex* had made the Army of the *Gaules* Revolt; and *Galba* was aſſured of that of *Spain*, he went to offer himſelf to the latter, in hopes to revenge himſelf on *Nero*, and alſo to oblige *Galba* to declare him his Succeſſor. *Otho* was deceived in his Hopes, and as he was then without Remedy, he reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of the Guard-houſe, to Aſſaſſinate *Galba*, even in the Palace, when he was at Supper, after he ſaw ſuch ungrateful Returns for all his Services, and that he had Adopted *Piſo*. *Ptolomy*, whom *Suetonius* names *Seleucus*, a famous Aſtrologer, who had followed him into *Portugal*, deſired him to wait; and he believed him becauſe he had before Predicted that *Nero* was to die before him, and he aſſured him, that he ſhould in a little time poſſeſs the Empire. How impatient ſoever *Otho* was, he waited a little; and to diſſemble his Reſentment, he came on the 15th of *January* to *Galba*, who as he was Sacrificing in *Apollo*'s Temple, was ſurpriſed when he underſtood by the Prieſt *Umbricius*, that the Entrails were of ill Omen;

and

and that thoſe who had conſpired againſt his Life were not very far from him. A little while after *Onamaſtus*, a Freed-man of *Otho*'s, came to advertiſe him, that the Architect and the Undertakers waited for him; which was the Word that was agreed on, to give notice that the Soldiers were aſſembled, and that all was ready for the execution of his Enterprize. Others ſay that he pretended to have a Fever, and he gave charge to thoſe that were near him, to excuſe him upon account of this Indiſpoſition, if by chance he ſhould be asked for. After what manner ſoever it was, he went out of the Temple; and when he was under the *Forum* he met 23 Archers who proclaimed him Emperor, took him up with their Swords in their Hands, although he trembled to ſee but this ſmall number for him. Theſe Archers followed by as many Soldiers, who met them in the way, accompanied him to the Camp, where the Colonels and Captains, who were not privy to this Deſign, all ſwore to obey him, either in hopes to ſee things in a better Condition, or out of fear of being Murthered by the Accomplices of this Treaſon, whom they could not yet know. There was none but what offer'd to die for him howſoever it ſhould happen, and at the ſame time he was lifted up on the Theatre, where was *Galba*'s Statue in Gold, and placed in the very midſt of their Colours. *Otho*, who gave one his Hand, embraced another, expreſſed his Gratitude to all, and flattered them with fair Promiſes, and was ſo ſucceſsful in animating them againſt *Galba*, that the ſame Day they deprived him of Empire and Life.

On the Morrow at break of Day *Otho* Sacrificed in the Capitol, and ſignified afterwards to the Senate, that he was ſet up by the Soldiers, and even forced to accept the Empire, of which he would endeavour to make himſelf worthy. He made no alteration in the Conſulſhips which had been deſigned by *Nero* and *Galba*, and he raiſed to the higheſt degree of Honour, the old Men who had already paſſed thro' the Offices of Augur and High-Prieſt. Out of Generoſity or Policy he gave in a moſt obliging manner to the young Noble Men that were returned from Exile, the Prieſthoods which

which their Fathers or Anceſtors had poſſeſſed, and reſtored ſome Senators who had been Condemned under the laſt Reigns. He ſent an increaſe of new Families into *Grenada*, granted the Rights of *Roman* Citizens to the People of (*c*) *Langres*, and new Privileges to *Cappadocia* and *Africk*. As he knew the common People did yet honour *Nero*'s Memory he permitted all his Statues to be ſet up again, ordered 1,205,000 Crowns ſhould be employed to finiſh his Golden Houſe; confirmed the Receivers and Freed-men in the ſame Offices which they had had heretofore from him; and if he did not appear to be moved when they gave him the Title of *Otho Nero*, in the midſt of the publick Acclamations, his Joy was never the leſs for being ſecret. It is alſo ſaid, that he affected to Sign *Otho Nero* in the Letters which he was obliged, in the beginning of his Reign, to write to the Governors of ſome Provinces; and that he afterwards deſiſted to add this Name to his own, was becauſe he perceived that Men of Honour look'd upon it as the Name of an Incendiary, a Murtherer, and an Enemy to their Liberties. By a Decree of the Senate he ordered all the Statues of *Poppæa* to be put up again in the ſame places whence they had been taken, and not being able to reſtore Life to her, he paid, however, this laſt Office to her Memory and his Love. But of all that he did, nothing pleaſed more, than when he order'd *Marius Celſus*, Conſul elect, to be conducted to the Capitol, whom he had taken out of the Hands of the Soldiers, under pretence to make him Priſoner, and whom he generouſly promiſed his Friendſhip, becauſe in effect he could be charged with nothing but his Fidelity to *Galba*. He entirely gained the Hearts of all the *Romans* when he gave order to have *Tigellinus* apprehended, who had been the chief Miniſter of *Nero*'s Pleaſures and Murthers, and who ſeeing there was no ſafety for him, cut his Throat with a Razor, that he might not leave his Enemies an opportunity

(*c*) Lingones *anciently*.

opportunity to revenge themſelves and puniſh all their Crimes.

They knew not in the Provinces what the State of Affairs was when the Troops in *Germany* revolted, broke *Galba*'s Statues, and *Fabius Valens* entring *Cologne* with the Cavalry of his Legion, and with that of the Auxiliaries ſaluted there *Vitellius* with the Title of Emperor. Thoſe of *Cologne*, *Treves*, and *Langres* declared openly for him. The Troops of *Flanders*, under the Command of *Valerius* the *Aſiatick*, whom *Vitellius* ſome time after choſe for his Son-in-law: Thoſe of *Blæſus*, Governor of the *Lionnoiſe Gaul*; Thoſe of the Iſle of *Britain*, under the Conduct of *Trebellius Maximus*, took afterwards the ſame Oath of Fidelity. *Alienus Cecinnia* who had been Treaſurer in *Grenada*, who was young, handſom and very proper, who had an admirable Wit, and a fierce Countenance, and who was beloved of the Soldiers, was extreamly pleaſed that he had found an occaſion to revenge himſelf on *Galba*, who had given him the Command of a Legion for having vigorouſly eſpouſed his Intereſt; but who afterwards expreſsly ordered that an Information ſhould be exhibited againſt him for purloining the Publick Money. *Fabius Valens* alſo was not well pleaſed with the ſame Emperor, and complained, that after he had diſcovered to him the Irreſolution of *Varenius*, and ruined the Deſigns of *Capito*, he had repay'd him with nothing but Ingratitude. *Vitellius* ſeeing that Fortune ſtretch'd forth her Arms to him, and all his Friends perſwaded him to do for her what ſhe did openly for him, committed an Army of 40,000 Men to *Valens*, another of 30,000 to *Cecinna*; and reſerved a third to himſelf to ſupport them; and he was in the *Lionnoiſe Gaul* before he had Intelligence that they had ſlain *Galba*, and taken *Otho* for his Succeſſor. The Senate it ſelf had ſent Ambaſſadors to *Vitellius* to inform him of all that had paſſed; and as *Otho* was averſe to a Civil War, and the Provinces eſpouſed one or the other Party, he offered to divide the Empire with him and to be his Son-in-Law. But their firſt Civilities were followed by bitter Reproaches, and it was no fault of *Otho*'s that he did not deſtroy

Vitellius,

Vitellius, no more than it was *Vitellius*'s, that *Otho* was not Murthered at *Rome*.

During theſe Diſorders two Cohorts had been cut in pieces the Winter before by the *Roxolans*, a People of *Red Ruſſia*, which now belongs to *Poland*: They made an Irruption into *Moeſia*. with 9000 Horſe; but as they had more appetite to Plunder than Fight, and were ſcattered one from another, they were defeated, and *Moeſia* was quiet. When this News was brought to *Rome* they ordered a Triumphal Statue for *Marcus Aponius* the General of the *Roman* Army; and Conſular Honours and Enſigns to *Fulvius Aurelius*, *Julianus Titianus*, and *Numiſius Lupus*. A ſtrange thing happen'd at the ſame time, whereby we may judge either of the Love which the Soldiers had for *Otho*, or of the Contempt which they had then for the Officers and the Senate. *Varius Criſpinus* a Colonel of the Prætorian Soldiers having ordered the 17th Cohort, which was going from *Oſtia* to *Rome*, to arm, cauſed Arms to be taken out of the Arſenal, in the duſk of the Evening, not to diſturb the Repoſe of the Camp, and commanded they ſhould be laid on the Carriages of this Regiment. The time and the cauſe of it were ſuſpected by the Soldiers of the Camp, and without any very ſtrict examination of the matter, they accuſed the Principal Officers of Treaſon; ran to their Arms, ſlew a Colonel and ſome Captains who went about to ſtop them; entred *Rome* and wounded the Tribune *Martialis*, and *Vitellius Saturninus* Lieutenant of the Legion who was at the Palace Gate, and who would have kept them out. *Otho* who had invited the moſt conſiderable Perſons of *Rome* of both Sexs to a great Entertainment, and who trembled for his Gueſts and for himſelf; made the Ladies and the Senators retire; and the Soldiers entred in great Companies, and gave him notice, that there was a deſign to arm even the Slaves againſt him; that his Life was not ſafe if he did not take care; and that they were come out of the Camp to obey his Commands without condition or reſerve. He deſired them with Tears in his Eyes to return again thither; and the Day following having ſhewn them

the fault which they had committed, and the danger to which they expoſed him by their indiſcreet Zeal; they unanimouſly conſented that the Authors of the Sedition ſhould be puniſhed for their Violence.

In the mean time the Troops commanded by the Lieutenants ſtill advanced; and the Fleet which *Otho* had ſent into the *Narbonnoiſe Gaul*, and which was to be ſupported by a Land Army, waited only for an opportunity to fight. An opportunity offered it ſelf, and it was alſo ſo favourable to *Otho*'s Party, that they had given their Enemies an entire Defeat, if Night had not prevented the remaining part of their Victory. *Alienus Cecinna* being impatient to join the Troops which poſſeſſed all the Country betwixt the *Po* and the *Alpes*, marcheth his own, beſiegeth (*d*) *Placentia*, whence he is vigorouſly beaten off; repaſſeth the *Po*, and is beaten in two Rencounters. *Otho*'s Soldiers being fluſh'd with their Advantages, deſired nothing but to fight. The Troops of *Valens* and *Cecinna*, who were joined, had the ſame eagerneſs; and in both Camps they all taxed their Generals of Cowardice or Treachery. But when *Otho* came to (*e*) *Bybriacum*, on the *North* of *Cremona* or *Caneto*, a little City in the Dutchy of *Mantoua*, and was perplexed with irreſolution, he commanded them to give the Enemy Battel, in which his Army was entirely Defeated. They repreſented to him to hearten him, that this Defeat was no ways conſiderable: That *Marcianus* and *Veſpaſianus* were coming to him with the Troops of *Judæa* and *Syria*: That thoſe of *Hungary*, *Bulgaria* and *Auſtria* were expected: That all the *Eaſt* was firm to him: That all *Africk* was for him; and this was the only loſs that he could reproach Fortune with. The Soldiers themſelves who eſcaped, and came to *Bebriacum*, whither he was adviſed to retire before the Battel, all proſtrated themſelves at his Feet, and kiſſing his Hands with Tears in their Eyes, beſeeched him to make uſe of what Blood was left in their Veins for his Service againſt the Enemy.

(*d*) *Now* Piacenza. (*e*) *Now* Bina.

my. There was one amongſt others, who drawing out his Sword, ſaid to him, *Take notice*, Cæſar, *that my fellow Soldiers are as reſolved to die for you, as I am*, and killed himſelf in his Preſence. Whereupon he cry'd out, *That he would expoſe ſuch brave Men to no further Danger*; and having ordered Boats and Carriages to be provided to ſend back his beſt Friends, he kiſſed his Brother *Titianus*, and aſſured him, that having preſerved the Mother, Wife and Children of *Vitellius*, there was no reaſon to fear him. He ſaid the ſame thing to his Nephew *Salvius Coccianus*; told him that he ſhould not have failed to adopt him if he had had a good iſſue of the War, and charged him to remember with a great deal of Moderation, *That he had had an Uncle an Emperor.*

Being retired he found his Mind compoſed enough to write two Conſolatory Letters, one to his Siſter, the other to *Statilia Meſſalina*, *Nero*'s Widow, whom he had reſolved to Marry; he burnt the Letters which he had received, for fear they might be ſome Prejudice to his Friends, and diſtributed all his Money amongſt his Servants. As he was ready to put his laſt deſign in execution, he heard the noiſe of Soldiers, who called the Senators that abandoned him *Traitors*; but having diſmiſt them in Anger, he only ſaid, *Let us add this Night to our Life.* He afterwards drank a Glaſs of cold Water, took two Swords, put one of them under his Bolſter; and waking the next Morning, after a ſound Sleep, he had the good Nature to ask of a Freed-man, whether the Senators departed without any hurt done to them. The Freed-man anſwered him, *That they were Safe.* To whom he replied, *And do you ſave your ſelf, and ſhew your ſelf to the Soldiers, leſt they believe you have contrived my Death.* As ſoon as he was gone out *Otho* took the Sword which he had choſen, and (*f*) putting the Point of it to his Breaſt, fell upon it

(*f*) Tacit Hiſt. *l.* 2. *c.* 50. & 2. Dio *l.* 64. *p.* 733. Plutarch in Ottone. & præter Gollzium et Onuphrium. Cauſab. ad Sueton. Othonem *c.* 11.

all at once, and by this means run it through his Body. At the only Groan that escaped from him when he expired, all his Servants thronged into the Chamber, which was open; they were in the greatest Consternation imaginable, and mingled their Tears with his Blood. The Soldiers ran upon the Shrieking of his Servants, and seeing him Dead, burst out into Lamentations and Reproaches, accusing themselves of the little care that they had all taken to guard him. There was not one of them that abandoned him, though the Enemy was very near, and as he had earnestly desired, that after his Death they should not defer his Funeral, for fear his Head should be carried to *Vitellius*, it was performed in haste. Some thought it too glorious either to follow him or carry him. Others on their Knees kissed his Wound or his Hands, and those who could not get through the Press, adored him at a distance, and did him Reverence. There were some who slew themselves at his Funeral Pile, purely out of the Affection which they had for him; and other Soldiers at *Placentia*, in the Camp, and at *Bebriacum*, followed their Example. He was Interr'd in this last City according to *Plutarch*, or at *Velitre* according to *Suetonius*; and one hath said, *That the best Action that ever he did, was that of killing himself.*

CHAP.

(g) Ausonius in Cæsaribus. Hinc tamen laudandus est, qui morte decora hoc solum fecit nobile quod perijt.

CHAP. XII.

VITELLIUS.

(*a*) *Aulus Vitellius*, Son of *Lucius Vitellius* and of *Sextilia Polla*, was Born at *Rome* on the 24th of *September*, *A. M.* 3986. *A. D.* 16. in the Conſulſhip of *Druſus Cæſar* and *Norbanus Flaccus*; Lived 57 Years, Reigned 6 Months and 22 Days according to ſome Authors; 8 Months 5 Days according to others, or 8 Months and one Day according to *Eutropius*.

The Family of *Vitellius* is little known, and his Pedigree is much doubted of. Thoſe who will have his Family to have been Illuſtrious, and deſcended from *Faunus*, who was King of the *Aborigines*, and from *Vitellia*, who in many Places was Worſhipped as a Goddeſs, add that they Reigned over all the *Latins*. That their Poſterity went to *Rome*, where they were admitted into the Patrician Rank. Others affirm, that they ſprang from a Freed-man, who according to *Caſſius Severus* was a Cobler, whoſe Grandſon *Publius Vitellius* was made a *Roman* Knight, whom *Auguſtus* alſo honoured with the Adminiſtration of his Affairs. He had four Sons, *Aulus*, *Quintus*, *Publius* and *Lucius*. The firſt died in the Conſulſhip which he held with *Domitius* the Father of *Nero*; and *Quintus* was obliged to retire when *Tiberius* ſtruck out of the number of Senators thoſe who were not worthy to be of that Body, and who had reduced themſelves to Poverty by Debauchery and Prodigality. *Publius* being accuſed of offering the publick Treaſure, for the execution of ſome Deſign againſt the State, cut his Veins under the Reign of the ſame Emperor; and *Lucius* died of the Palſy after he had been thrice Conſul. He was in great Eſteem with *Tiberius*, with *Caligula*, and with *Claudius*, who had him of his Collegue in the Conſulſhip, and

(*a*) In nummis. A. Vitellius Germanor. Imp. Aug.

who eſtabliſhed him Governor General of the whole Empire, when by the Counſel of *Aulus Plautius* he made a Voyage into the Iſle of *Britain*. He was Brave, Ingenious and Hardy, but ſo great a Flatterer, that he was not aſhamed to adore *Caligula*: That to recommend himſelf to *Claudius*, he begg'd of *Meſſalina* as the greateſt Favour, that he might have leave to pull off her Shooe. After his Requeſt was granted he took the Empreſſe's Shooe, always carried it betwixt his Coat and his Gown, and publickly kiſſed it. When *Claudius* exhibited the Games which were ſeen but once in a hundred Years, to the Acclamations of others he added this, *May you often Celebrate them*, although *Claudius* was already Old; and when *Narciſſus* and *Pallas* were the Emperor's chief Favourites, he adored their Statutes of Gold and made them his Houſhold Gods. He had ſo blind a Paſſion for a Freed-Woman, that he moiſtned his Throat and Arteries with his Miſtreſſes Spittle; and uſed it with Honey as a Sovereign Remedy. However his blind Paſſion and ſhameful Flattery did not hinder him from having publick Funerals after his Death; nor the Senate from Decreeing him a Statue. By *Sextilia*, who was a conſiderable Lady, he had two Children, *Aulus* and *Lucius*, who were Conſuls in the ſame Year, and he had alſo the ſatisfaction to ſee them in that Office.

Aulus Vitellius married two Wives. By *Petronia*, which was the firſt, he had a Son named *Petronianus*, who was born blind of one Eye, and after *Vitellius* Divorced her ſhe was married to *Dolabella*. By *Galeria*, whom he married ſome time after, and who had a thick and ſtammering Tongue, he had *Publius Vitellius*, who ſpoke with ſo much difficulty, that he wanted but little of being Dumb. He had alſo a Daughter who was married to *Veſpaſian*. *Tacitus* praiſeth the Moderation of *Galeria*; but *Pliny* and *Dio* accuſe her of Ambition and Vainglory, inſomuch that being in *Nero*'s Golden Houſe, with her Husband *Vitellius*, ſhe ridicul'd this Palace, becauſe the Furniture, although wonderful, did not appear to her Magnificent enough.

His

His Statue was of an extraordinary ſize, his Belly prodigiouſly big, his Face always glowing with a drunken Redneſs, and with the ſuperfluous Fat which he had, a lean Man might have been put in very good Caſe, although he had been as large as himſelf. One Day as he was by *Caligula*'s ſide he received a bruiſe by a Chariot which carried the Emperor, and as long as he lived this Thigh was weaker than the other. Whatſoever he did, he did it with an ill Grace; and his greateſt care was for good Cheer. He was a Glutton, a Drunkard, Voluptuous, Cowardly, and exceſſively Cruel; Imprudent in his Conduct; Irreſolute in his Judgment; Diſſembling without Addreſs, Changeable without Reaſon, Vain without Merit; and he that ſhall conſider him in his Extortions and Expences, will find that he was equally Covetous and Prodigal.

The Iſle of *Capræa* was the Academy where he was Inſtructed amongſt *Tiberius*'s Boys and Miſſes; and he made ſo great a Progreſs there, that in a little time he was the Inventor of certain Pleaſures, which were yet unknown to others. He was beloved by *Caligula*, becauſe he loved Chariot Races; and by *Claudius*, becauſe he delighted much in playing at Dice. *Nero* had alſo a great Eſteem for him; and it was hard if he ſhould not be agreeable to Emperors, all whoſe Vices were common to him, and if the Reſemblance that was betwixt them, ſhould not link them in Friendſhip.

By their Favour he was advanced to ſeveral Offices belonging either to the State or the Prieſthood; and he was made *Proconſul* of *Aſia*, *Ædile* or chief *Surveyor*, whoſe Office was to take care of the Publick Buildings and Reparations, in the latter of which he ſufficiently ſhewed himſelf, ſince, according to ſome Authors, he robb'd Temples of their Ornaments and Gifts, and after he had taken away thoſe which were of Gold and Silver, he put others of Tin or Copper in their room. *Galba* gave him the Government of the *Lower Germany*, which was towards the Mouths of the *Rhine*, betwixt this River and the *Meuſe*; as the *Upper* was towards the Sources of the *Rhine*. Moſt People being

ſurpriſed that he was advanced to this Poſt, becauſe the *Upper Germany* had revolted, The Emperor ſaid, *That thoſe who minded nothing but filling themſelves with Wine and good Cheer were not to be feared, and that he ſent* Vitellius *into a Province that was able to furniſh him, to his Wiſhes, with what he loved.* At this time he was reduced to ſo low an Ebb, that he was conſtrained privately to hire a Chamber for his Wife and Children, whom he left at *Rome*; and having taken a Pearl of great Value out of his Mother *Sextilia*'s Ear, he pawned it to defray the Charges of his Journey. His Creditors alſo preſſed very hard upon him, and above all the reſt thoſe of the Cities of *Campania*, whoſe Revenues he had taken, which ſerved for his Pleaſures and Debaucheries. But to get rid of their Proſecutions, he thought fit to menace them with falſe Accuſations; and they were ſo frighted therewith, that they quitted their Claims, that they might not anſwer to all the Crimes which he forged againſt them. A Freed-man who demanded his Debt a little roughly, was not excuſed at ſo cheap a rate; for *Vitellius* had ſo baſe a Spirit as to accuſe him of giving him a kick, which was not ſo, and having brought his Action againſt him, he would never pardon him till he had made 1250 Crowns of this pretended kick.

In his Journey he had Careſſes for all People; and in the Inns he made himſelf ſo Familiar with the Travellers and the Mule-drivers, that in the Morning, after having asked them, if they were faſting, with a noiſe which could not be decently made in Company, he ſent Vapours of Meat and Wine into their Noſes, to convince them that his Stomach was already full. When he arrived in *Germany*, he was received in the manner that he wiſhed; and the Soldiers thought him ſent from Heaven to them, for he was of a pleaſant Humour, minded nothing but his Diverſion, and withall was Prodigal. At his firſt coming to the Camp, he pardoned without Diſcretion, thoſe who deſerved to have been branded with Infamy; ordered the Accuſed to lay aſide their mourning Habits; and without obſerving either the Formalities of Juſtice, or the Rules

of

of Military Diſcipline, he would acquit all the Criminals; and alſo ſign all the Petitions that were preſented to him. This Indulgence, which in probability was enough to ruin him, was ſo well received, that a Month after the Soldiers took him up from his Chamber where he was Drunk, Saluted him with the Title of Emperor, following the Example of *Valens* who was Commander of a Legion, and carried him throw the Lanes of the Camp, with the naked Sword of *Julius Cæſar*, which he had in his Hand, and which was taken out of the Temple of *Mars* to be preſented to him. Afterwards the Army of *Upper Germany*, which had revolted from *Galba*, and own'd no Authority but that of the Senate, ſided with him; gave him the Surname of *Germanicus*; but he durſt not take that of *Auguſtus*, nor receive that of *Cæſar*.

It was in *Gaul* (where he was with his Troops) that he was informed of the Victory of *Bebriacum*, and of the Fate of *Otho*; that he broke all the Prætorian Cavalry, and gave order that the Captains who had appeared moſt Zealous for this Emperor ſhould be put to Death. He received with ſuch marks of Joy and Eſteem, *Alienus Cæcinna* and *Fabius Valens*, who went to *Lyons* to meet him, that he placed them on each ſide of his Throne; and having brought his Son before all the People, he gave him the Surname of *Germanicus*, though he was yet but an Infant. Having paſſed from *Lyons* to *Bebriacum*, 40 Days after the Battel, he took a Pleaſure in viewing the Field covered with Men and Horſes half rotten, and perceiving ſome to turn aſide by reaſon of the ſtink, he encouraged them, ſaying, *That the ſmell of a dead Enemy was always good, and that of a Citizen ſtill better.* To this deteſtable Maxim, he added a very inſolent Jeſt; when looking on a plain Stone, whereon was cut this Inſcription. *Here is the Sepulchre of* Mark Otho, he ſaid, *That he was worthy of ſuch a Mauſoleum.* He departed from *Bebriacum* followed by a ſurprizing number of Ambaſſadors and Volonteers, by 60000 Soldiers, as many Soldiers Servants and Sutlers, and marched towards *Rome*, into which he made his Entry, according to *Suetonius*,

Suetonius, with the ſound of Trumpets, his Sword by his ſide, and in Armour, betwixt Colours and Standars. *Tacitus* ſaith, that being very near *Rome*, he drove the People and the Senate before him, that he was Mounted with great Pomp, had indeed his Coat of Armour, but was adviſed by ſome not to enter into *Rome* as Generals are wont to enter a Conquered City, and that having taken his Imperial Robe by their Counſel, his Entry into it was much more Modeſt and Peaceable. He went directly into the Capitol, where was his Mother *Sextilia*, whom he honoured with the Title of *Auguſta*, and the next Day he highly commended himſelf in a Speech, and did his utmoſt to extol his Induſtry and his Temperance, to thoſe who were unexceptionable Witneſſes of his Drunkenneſs and all his Crimes. He was afterwards choſen High-Prieſt, and he made himſelf perpetual Conſul; and to ſhew that *Nero*'s Memory was dear to him, and that he ought to follow his Maxims in order to rule well, he had Altars Erected in the Field of *Mars*, and Sacrificed publickly to his Manes.

After this the Farce-Players and the Chariot-Drivers were the Emperor's Principal and moſt Illuſtrious Counſellors, and what was determined amongſt them paſſed afterwards for an Edict, and a Law. *Aſiaticus*, the moſt Infamous of Slaves, was privy to all the Secrets of the Cabinet; and as he openly proſtituted himſelf, and this Love could not go without its Reward, *Vitellius* made him Free, honoured him with Knighthood, made him Governor of *Germany*, and granted him every thing that he asked. On the other Hand *Alienus Cæcinna* and *Fabius Valens* diſpoſed of all Offices, poſſeſſed themſelves of Private Mens Eſtates, drew the moſt Innocent into ſuſpicion, juſtified the moſt Guilty, and got into their Hands the Riches of the Empire. The Soldiers who had defired nothing but to Signalize themſelves in the moſt dangerous Occaſions, could no longer live in the Camp, walkt under *Porticos*, and about Temples, frequented Taverns and worſe Places, were loſt to all Diſcipline, and delighted in nothing but Baths and Idleneſs. The People knew not what to re-

ſolve

ſolve on. The Nobility was reduced almoſt to a ſcandalous Poverty, and the Slaves of Favorites were more Powerful than the Senate it ſelf. In this general Confuſion there was no way for a Man to recommend himſelf to the Emperor, but to make Splendid Feaſts, to fill his Belly with Meat and Drink, which was to make Proviſion for an Abyſſe. By a Cuſtom which he had gotten, of throwing up with eaſe what he had taken, he held out at four Meals a Day, and as he was grown Familiar with Perſons that loved good Cheer, the ſame Day that he invited himſelf to Dine with one, he invited himſelf to Sup or take a Collation with another; (*b*) which was not always convenient for his Hoſts, for it coſt them no leſs than 10000 Crowns to entertain him. His Brother *Lucius Vitellius* came not off at ſo cheap a Rate, when he invited him to Supper, after he had made his Entry into *Rome*, at which Feaſt there were ſerved up 2000 conſiderable Fiſh, and 7000 Birds. But he far ſurpaſſed his Brother in the Dedication of a certain Diſh, which he named (*c*) *The Buckler of* Minerva *Protectreſs of the City*; and it vvas of ſo prodigious a bigneſs, that they vvere forced to build an Oven in the midſt of a Field, to make it. This Diſh vvas filled vvith the Brains of Pheaſants, Peacocks and the Tongues of other Birds vvhich vvere rare; vvith the Livers of certain Fiſh vvhich vvere not taken but during the Dog-Days, in *Crete*; vvith the milky Guts of Mullets, and other Ragous of the ſame Nature. It coſt 20 or 25000 Crovvns, vvhich vvill not appear ſtrange to thoſe vvho conſider that the greateſt part of theſe Ragous had been brought to *Rome* from the remoteſt Borders of the remoteſt Parts of the Empire. Theſe kind of Diſhes rejoyced him, and they vvere

(*b*) *Nec cuique minus ſinguli apparatus quadringentis millibus nummum conſtiterunt. Sueton. in* Vitel. c. 13. *Fuit hæc ſumma Florenorum viginti millia; Meurſ. de Luxu R.* c. 13. (*c*) *De* Clypeo Minervæ. *Salmaſius ad hæc Trebellij Pollionis, de Divo Claudio,* Illi Clypeus aureus, *& Decies Seſtetia condidit patinam* Plin. l. 35. c. 12

vvere called by *Mucianus*, *Lakes of rich Pottage.* He vvas ſo Greedy and Gluttonous, that in the Taverns of the great Road he ſvvallovved dovvn reaking Meat, or that vvhich vvas half eaten the Day before: That in the Sacrifices he devoured betvvixt the Altars the parched Barley, and the Fleſh vvhich vvas not yet taken off of the Fire. Beſides he uſed ſo great a quantity of ſvveet-ſented Waters, that *Veſpaſian* ſpeaking of him ſaid, *That he had uſed leſs Waters in the Baths, than* Vitellius *had rich Liquors.* (*d*) In a fevv Months he vvaſted fifteen Millions of Gold; and the Perfumers, Purveyers and Cooks loſt a great deal vvhen they loſt him.

Hovv great an Inclination ſoever he had to Wine, he had ſtill a greater to Blood; and he offered no Violence to his Nature vvhen he committed Acts of Cruelty. He had an invincible Averſion to Aſtrologers; and there vvas no hope of Safety for them if they vvere accuſed of the leaſt matter. The Uſurers paſsed their time as ill as the Aſtrologers, and thoſe who had heretofore demanded their Debts of him, or had made him pay the ordinary Fare in his Journies, all died a violent Death. He ordered the Captains *Donatius*, *Nonius*, *Romulius*, and *Calpurnius* to be put to Death for preſerving an inviolable Fidelity to *Otho*; and *Julius Blæſus* to be Impriſoned on a falſe Report, altho' he had received great Services from him, and that there was not in the Empire a Sincerer Man, nor a greater Enemy to Innovations. After having drawn ſeveral Knights to him, who had been his beſt Friends, he put them to Death on divers Pretences; and one having deſired a Glaſs of cold Water to refreſh himſelf in a very Violent Fever, he preſently put Poyſon into the Glaſs; and ſo prevented a long Sickneſs. Seeing another dragg'd to Execution, he made a ſign to have him brought back; and when it was believed that he had Pardoned him, and that every one already praiſed him for this Action, he ordered he ſhould be put to Death in

(*d*) *Videatur Salmaſi ad Tertull. de Pallio.*

in his Preſence, adding, *That he would feaſt his Eyes.* A *Roman* Knight whom they were going to Execute, crying out to him, *You are my Heir*; he made him produce his Will; and when he ſaw that he had ſpoken Truth, but that one of his Freed-men was to have a ſhare in the Inheritance, he commanded both their Throats to be Cut. He was ſuſpected to have been the Author of his Mothers Death, who was one of the moſt Vertuous Ladies of her time. *Petronia* his firſt Wife having made *Petronianus* her Heir on condition that he ſhould be put out of the Guardianſhip of *Vitellius*, he ſet him at Liberty; and afterwerds giving him Poyſon, publiſhed every where, that his Son *Petronianus* had deſigned to kill him, and that he had Poyſoned himſelf becauſe he was no longer able to endure the continual and juſt Reproaches with which his Conſcience muſt upbraid him for this deſigned Parricide. He alſo commanded *Dolabella* to be Murthered, whom he hated, becauſe he had Marry'd *Petronia*, however he made uſe of another Pretence to juſtifie the Murther.

Vitellius was increaſed in Luxury and Cruelty, when the Armies of *Hungary*, *Auſtria* and *Bohemia* revolted: Thoſe of *Syria* and *Judea* took the Oath of Fealty to *Veſpaſian*; the Fleet of *Ravenna* and *Atriſenum* declared in Favour of the latter, under the Conduct of *Lucilius Baſſus*; and *Valerius Feſtus*, who commanded them in *Africk*, took at laſt the ſame ſide. *Cecinna* ſoon followed their Example, either out of Caprice, or by the Advice of *Lucilius Baſſus*, or out of ſecret Jealouſies that he had of the Intereſt and Reputation of *Valens*, or in hopes of ſeeing himſelf one Day the Favourite of *Veſpaſian*. *Antonius Primus*, who was Bold, Prudent, Liberal and Brave, and who had conſiderable Forces in *Italy*, puſh'd on the Fortune of *Veſpaſian* with all his Power, after he had made himſelf Maſter of *Aquilea*, *Padona*, *Eſte*, *Ferraro*, *Vincenza* and *Verona*. He gained ſome Advantages over the Troops of *Vitellius*, in two Rencounters forced the Camp of *Cremona*, and the City it ſelf was Plundred and laid in Aſhes. Upon this News *Flavius Valens* reſolved to ſeize ſome Ships,

Ships, and to land in ſome place of *Gallia Narbonnenſis*, to rouze up the reſt of *Gaul* and *Germany*, and to draw the weight of the War thither. But having been driven by contrary Winds from the Gulf of *Piſo* to *Monaco*, and carried alſo by a Tempeſt to the Iſles of *Hieres*, near *Marſeilles*, he was taken there by the Ships of *Valerius Paulinus*, who was Governour of the Province, had been Tribune of the Pretorian Soldiers, and had ſtirred up againſt the Emperor all the Cities which he commanded. After this taking of *Valens*; *Spain* and the Iſle of *Brittain* made an Inſurrection; and to give Orders for his Affairs, *Vitellius* was obliged to go to the Army which was then Encamped near *Bevagna*; but when he could not ſuddle there without trembling, and the Army of *Miſenum* had deſerted his Intereſt, he ſoon returned towards *Rome*. In the mean time *Anthony* paſſed over the *Apennine*; took by force the Cities who reſiſted him, and reduced his Enemies to the laſt degree of Deſpair, ſhew'd them the Head of *Fabius Valens*, who had been killed in Priſon when they believed that he was in *Germany* with an Army. *Antonius* wrote afterwards to *Vitellius*, that there was no Remedy, *But that he muſt reſign the Empire*; and he agreed to it in a Treaty with *Flavius Sabinus* Governor of *Rome*, and eldeſt Brother to *Veſpaſian*, on condition that they would give him 2500000 Crowns, Slaves and a Retreat.

But the Face of Affairs changed when he made a Speech before the Soldiers in an Aſſembly to this effect. *That for the Peace of the State he was ready to reſign the Empire, which he had been compelled to accept: That he pray'd them ſometimes to remember him and his Brother* Lucius, *and have ſome ſort of Compaſſion both on his Wife and Children.* He took his Son, whom he preſented with Tears in his Eyes, now to one and then to another; drew out his Sword from his ſide, which was the Mark of the Sovereign Power, which he had over the Lives of the Citizens, and would have given it to the Conſul *Cæcilius Simplex*, who was near him in the Aſſembly. *Cæcilius* refuſed it in the ſight of all the People, and the Soldiers alſo hindring him from giving it, encouraged

couraged him by their Promiſes, and engaged to let him ſee, that to whatſoever Extremities they might be reduced, his Glory ſhould be dearer to them than their own Lives. *Flavius Sabinus*, who expected nothing but the performance of Treaty, was informed of this Change, and was yet more ſurprized to ſee his Friends who followed him, charged upon by *Vitellius*'s Soldiers, who vigorouſly acquitted themſelves of their Promiſe. There was a Skirmiſh betwixt them, but thoſe of *Veſpaſian*'s Party were forced to fly, and *Sabinus* retired into the Capitol. They ſet Fire to it, and took the Conſul *Quintius Atticus* and *Flavius Sabinus*, whom they loaded with Chains and carried directly to the Emperor, who was on the Stairs of the Palace, and who ſhewed, neither by his Words, nor his Countenance, that he had the leaſt thing to reproach them with. He was alſo willing to ſave *Sabinus*, but when every one demanded his Death with obſtinacy, he had not Power enough to ſave him; and the People after having Wounded him in every part, cut off his Head, and dragged his Body to be faſtned to a Gibbet.

Anthony had no ſooner Intelligence that the Capitol was Beſieged, but he advanced towards *Rome* with his Forces; and he ſome time after underſtood that they had ſlain *Sabinus*, who in truth deſerved a better Death; for he had been 12 Years Governor of *Rome*; had bore Arms 35 Years for the Service of the *Romans*, and acquired great Reputation both in Peace and War. Upon this Approach *Vitellius* ſent Deputies from the Senate, and the Veſtals alſo went to meet *Anthony*, who once for all aſſured them, That the burning of the Capitol, and the Murther of *Flavius Sabinus* had abſolutely broken all Treaties. In this deſperate Condition the Emperor's Troops fought with incredible Reſolution, but notwithſtanding their utmoſt Efforts to defend *Rome*, *Anthony* forced the City. *Vitellius* on this News went out of the Palace, and was carried to the Aventine Hill, in hopes eaſily to ſteal away by Night, and eſcape to *Terracina*, where his Brother was with ſome Regiments. Afterwards, in a fright, by reaſon of the preſent ſtate of Affairs, he returned without Conſide-

ration

ration into the Palace, which he found deſerted; and not knowing what Reſolution to take farther, he hid himſelf in a naſty place, where the Tribune *Julius Placidius* drew him out by force. When they had tore off his Robe, thy led him half naked through the Sacred Street, with a Halter about his Neck, his Hands tyed behind him; and they put the point of a Sword under his Chin to hinder him from bowing his Head. They made him walk in this manner, whilſt he ſaw them break down all his Statues, and in the mean time they threw Dirt in his Face, and loaded him with Reproaches and Curſes. Being come to the *Gemoniæ*, to make him longer a dying, the Executioner tore his Body with ſmall Whips, dragged him into *Tiber* with a Hook, after he had given his laſt Gaſp; and it may be juſtly ſaid of his Burial what he ſeemingly ſaid of that of *Otho*, *That he was worthy of ſuch a Mauſoleum.*

CHAP. XIII.

VESPASIAN.

(a) FLavius *Veſpaſianus*, Son of *Titus Flavius Sabinus* and of *Veſpaſia Polla*, was born in a little Village of the *Sabines*, named *Phalacrine*, near *Riete*, in the Conſulſhip of *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus* and *Poppæus Sabinus*, *A. M.* 3980. *A. D.* 10. he Reigned ten Years wanting ſix Days.

His Anceſtors were no ways Conſiderable; and he was ſo ſenſible of it, that he owned it both in Private and in Publick; jeered ſome People, who to flatter him would derive his Pedigree from the *Flavij*, who Founded

(a) *In nummis Lat.* Imp. Cæſ. *Veſp Aug. In multis Simpl.* ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. *In quibuſdam additum* Cæſari, ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

founded *Rieti*. He was ſo free on this Point, that on the very Day of his Triumph, being tired with long expectation, he frankly ſaid, *That this Mortification was very well due to him, becauſe he was neither of Age nor Quality to Triumph: That his Anceſtors never aſpired to this Honour, and that he never pretended to it.* His Grand-Father *Titus Flavius Petronius*, who had commanded a Company in *Pompey*'s Troops againſt *Cæſar*, had by his Wife *Tertulla*, *Titus Flavius Sabinus*, who was Receiver of the Taxes in *Aſia*, and who dyed in *Switzerland*, where he lent upon uſe all the Money that he had. This laſt had married *Veſpaſia Polla*, Daughter of *Veſpaſius Pollio*, who had been thrice Tribune of the Horſe-Guards; and he had by her a Daughter who lived not to a Years end; *Flavius Sabinus* Governor of *Rome*, who was killed about the end of *Vitellius*'s Reign; and *Flavius Veſpaſianus*, who was eſteemed worthy of the Empire.

By his Wife *Flavia Domitilla*, Daughter of *Flavius Liberalis*, who was of *Ferentum*, he had three Children, *Titus*, *Domitianus*, and *Domitilla*; and he loſt his Wife and Daughter before he was Emperor.

He was of a middle Stature and well ſet, had a red Face, large Shoulders, his Limbs compact and robuſt, a vigorous Conſtitution, an open Forehead, a Warlike Countenance, was of courteous Acceſs, and of a good Underſtanding. He was Sincere, Prudent, Hardy, Brave, Reſolute and always in Action. Hiſtorians teſtifie, That he marched at the Head of his Troops; That he went in Perſon to view all the Places where his Army was to Encamp; That he was ſo ſober, that he was eaſily contented with the firſt thing that he met with; and ſo much an Enemy to Pride, that his Habit could hardly be diſtinguiſhed from that of a private Soldier's. To preſerve his Health he made uſe of Exerciſe, after which he was rubbed, and every Month he paſſed one Day without eating any thing. He roſe and went to Bed late; and when he had looked over the Accounts of his Officers, or the Letters which had been brought him, he ordered that the Entrance into his Chamber ſhould be left free, into which then came

all his Friends; and he dreſſed himſelf before them. After he had diſpatched his Affairs, he walked and diverted himſelf with ſome of his Family, Bathed and went into the Hall where he uſed to eat, and it was then that they obtained of him what they deſired; and this, being the time of his good Humour, was watched by his Domeſticks.

After he had taken the *Virile* Gown, he for ſome time refuſed that which they called the *Broad Purple Stud*, which was worn by thoſe who were of the Senatorian Order; and although *Flavius Sabinus* had already received it, he did not reſolve to demand it, until he was provoked to it by the continual Reproaches of *Veſpaſia Polla*, and who to kindle his Ambition call'd him, *His Brother's Uſher*. He paſſed afterwards thro' all Offices, and was Ædile, Treaſurer, Prætor, Governor of the Provinces of *Cyrene*, *Crete* and *Africk*. It was by the Intreagues of *Narciſſus*, who ſupported his Intereſt, that he was ſent into *Germany*, in Quality of Lieutenant of a Legion, where he gained a Battle. From *Germany* he was ſent into *Great Brittain*, where he fought (*b*) thirty two Battels, and was Victorious in all; reduced two Powerful Nations; took above twenty Towns, and at laſt forced the Iſle of *Vectis*, now *Wight*, to ſubmit to the *Romans*. In conſideration of his great Actions he had the Triumphal Ornaments, the Sacerdotal Dignity, and the Conſulſhip; and afterwards he prudently retired, becauſe *Agrippina*, who had great Power over her Son *Nero*, had a mortal Averſion to all thoſe who had been *Narciſſus*'s Friends. Altho' he had deſigned to end his Life in Retirement if things ſtill continued in the ſame ſtate, he was conſtrained to quit it, and quickly to paſs into *Africk*, where he exerciſed the Office of Proconſul. This Government was worth him ſo little, that to avoid the Dunns and Proſecutions of his Creditors, he Mortgaged his whole Eſtate to his Brother *Flavius Sabinus*; and to ſupport his

(*b*) Joh. Campanus; Sueton. Egeſippus, *l.* 3. Elias Schedias de Dijs Germanorum. Syngram. *p.* 15. *and* 16.

his Quality he was forced to trade in Horſes, which was the reaſon that they commonly nick-nam'd him the *Jockey*. Being much in *Nero*'s Favour he went with him in his *Achaian* Voyage; but as he hapned to Sleep where this Emperor was playing on the Harp, he was in ſuch diſgrace upon it, that had it not been for the Intereſt of his Friends, this Nap had infallibly coſt him his Life. Under this Diſgrace he retired; and abſconding in a Village that was far from the great Roads, he wiſhed for nothing elſe but to live there in Safety.

Some time after *Judæa* revolted when *Geſſius Florus* was Governor of that Province; and *Cæſtius Gallus* who was Governor of *Syria*, dyed while he was endeavouring to ſuppreſs the Revolts; however the *Jews* in ſeveral Rencounters had great Advantages over him. This News made a noiſe at *Rome*, and much diſturbed *Nero*, who knew of what Importance *Judæa* was. To reduce them to Obedience he found no better way than to ſend thither *Veſpaſian*, who had Experience and Conduct, and ſeemed to carry Victory with him whither ſoever he was ſent. *Nero* was not deceived in his Hopes; and *Veſpaſian* in this War did all that a Man of Courage and Prudence could do to ſerve his Maſter. For after he had tarried ſome time in *Achaia* with *Nero*, he ſent his Son *Titus* to *Alexandria* to take there the fifth and the tenth Legion; paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and then continued his Journey by Land into *Syria*, Having aſſembled the *Roman* Forces, and thoſe of the Kings *Antiochus*, *Agrippa*, *Malchus* and *Sohemes*, he immediately took *Gadara* by Storm, and laid it in Aſhes; took *Jotapata* by Force, but with incredible Fatigues, where he was wounded in the Sole of his Foot by an Arrow ſhot, according to *Joſephus*, or a blow with a Stone, according to *Suetonius*, although the latter ſaith, *It was at the taking of a Caſtle that he was Wounded.* This was a conſiderable Siege; and of the *Jews*, who were obſtinately reſolved to defend it to the laſt, there were ſlain 40000 in the taking of it, in Aſſaults and in Sallies. He obliged *Tiberias* to ſurrender, took *Tarichea*, deſtroyed *Gamala*, took *Bethel* and

Ephraim, and was ſo ſucceſsful, that in two Summers he made himſelf Maſter of the Country, and his Victorious Army entred generally all the Cities, except *Jeruſalem*.

But when, after *Nero*'s Death, every one made a Party, all *Europe* was in Troubles, and there was no longer any Safety for honeſt Men at *Rome*; thoſe who Commanded in the *Eaſt* opened their Eyes, and took into their ſerious Conſideration the publick Repoſe. The Soldiers themſelves began all to Murmur, that they were made to ſerve like Slaves, whilſt the others vvho vvere in *Germany*, the *Gauls* and *Italy*, enriched themſelves vvith Licentiouſneſs and Diſorder. Though there had been ſome jealouſie betvvixt *Veſpaſian* and *Lucinius Mucianus*, vvho vvas then Governor of *Syria*, *Titus* vvho vvas born to vvin Hearts, and to unite them, reconciled theſe tvvo Governors, and repreſented to them, that the Provinces, vvhich they Commanded, bordering on one another, it vvas for their Intereſt, and alſo for the Safety of the *Roman* People that their Forces ſhould never be ſeparated. Both had well Diſciplined Legions, Regiments of Auxiliary Troops, Cavalry, and Kings vvho aſſiſted them; and the Tribunes, Captains, and generally all the Officers and Soldiers vvho had been gained by *Titus* and others, deſired no more but to declare themſelves. The tvvo Armies had taken the Oath to *Otho*, and after his Death, he having taken the Oath to *Vitellius*, and made vviſhes for the happy ſucceſs of his Affairs, he ſaw no body who anſwered him, and who did not in their Hearts condem him, for letting ſlip an opportunity which would have given him the Empire of the World.

Indeed many Preſages had ſignified his good Fortune; and Hiſtory ſaith, that in the three Child-births of *Veſpaſia Polla*, an old Oak conſecrated to *Mars* put forth three Branches, whereof the firſt that was little, withered the ſame Moment, which ſignified the Death of her Daughter who lived not a whole Year; the ſecond flouriſhing and long; and the third larger and greener than the other two. In the Fields of *Flavius Sabinus* a Cypreſs Tree having been torn up by the Roots

Roots, and thrown down, when there was no Wind nor Storm; got up again of it ſelf the Day following, and appeared greener and firmer than it was before it fell. An Ox which laboured in the Field, after having ſhook off his Yoke, entred into the Chamber where *Veſpaſian* was at Supper; and the Servants running away, he fell down at his Feet, and gently bowed his Head before him. *Suetonius* hath mentioned other Preſages of the ſame Nature, which promiſed *Veſpaſian* ſome extraordinary Grandeur; and moreover the Aſtrologers aſſured him, That he was Born to Command the World. But notwithſtanding all the Promiſes the Aſtrologers could make him, and the aſſurance that the Preſages could give him, he conſidered that he was Sixty Years old: That *Titus* and *Domitian* were very Young: That for thoſe who aſpired to Sovereignty, there was no middle betwixt a Throne and a Precipice. He ſaw well that the Legions would never love a Civil War: That the Soldiers and the Officers might change either through Caprice or Intereſt: That to prevent or put a ſtop to his Ambition, his Enemies need no more than to gain a Traitor.

Whilſt he was turning over all theſe things in his Mind, *Mucian* encouraged him in Private and in Publick. He ſet before him, that it was of the higheſt Importance to the State that he ſhould be (*c*) Emperor: That the Legions and the Deſtinies call'd him to the Sovereign Authority: That he had already by his Actions rendred himſelf worthy of it: That they look'd upon him as the Father of their Country; and that he had no other Enemy but *Vitellius*, who was an Enemy to Mankind. By theſe Reaſons, and ſome others, which he repreſented to him, he declared his Mind to *Veſpaſian*, who for all that was never the more encouraged, until he had conſulted the Oracle of the Mountain *Carmel*, which is betwixt *Judæa* and *Syria*

(*c*) Sueton *c.* 4. Tacit. *l.* 5. *Hiſtor. c.* 13. §. 3. Joſeph *l.* 6. *De Bello Jud. c.* 44. Hegeſippus *l.* 5. c. 44. Baronius *in apparatu.*

ria, and had been informed by *Baſilides* (*d*) who was then Prieſt of the Place, that Heaven would favour him in whatſoever Enterprize he ſhould take in Hand. He was not yet throughly reſolved, when the Soldiers, though in a ſmall number, made a Lane according to Cuſtom, as they ſaw him come out of his Chamber; Saluted him with the Title of Emperor, and all the reſt at this publick Acclamation ran in Crowds, and called him *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*. *Tiberius Alexander* Governor of *Egypt*, having made the Legions take the Oath of Fidelity to *Veſpaſian*, on the firſt Day of *July*, which Day was reckoned for the firſt of his Reign; and this, which *Tiberius* had done at *Alexandria*, *Mucian* did afterwards at *Antioch*. To exaſperate alſo every one more ſenſibly, he made the whole Army and the Province believe, that *Vitellius* was reſolved to draw the *German* Legions, who were exceſſively Inſolent, into *Syria*, which was a pleaſant, rich and quiet Conntry; and to ſend away thoſe of *Syria* into *Germany*, where the Fatigues were incredible, the Air ſharp, and the the People Barbarous. Hereupon the whole Province of *Syria* declared for *Veſpaſian*, to whom *Sohemes*, without farther Conſideration, offered the whole Forces of his Kingdom. *Antiochus* who was the richeſt of all the Kings who at that time depended on the Empire; *Agrippa* who came from *Rome* upon this News; Queen *Berenice* who was Young, and who had already viſited *Veſpaſian*, ſoon followed the ſame Party, and *Vologeſes* King of the *Parthians* promiſed Forty thouſand Archers to promote ſo brave and juſt an Undertaking. When they had Coyned Money, made Arms, and all things were concerted, they ſent private Couriers to the Armies which were in *Brittain*, the *Gauls*, *Spain* and the Neighbouring Provinces of *Italy*; and to each Colonel in particular; and they found every where a general diſpoſition to a Revolt. But *Antonius Primus*, who Commanded the 7th Legion in *Hungary*, ſhockt all that were

(*d*) *Vid.* Lightfoot *ad v.* 6. Matthei. §. *de Sattu. Templi Secundi.*

were near him; and was ſo Succeſsful, that having compoſed a very conſiderable Army, he defeated *Vitellius*'s Forces, took *Rome*, and by the Death of *Lucius Vitellius* who ſurrender'd himſelf with his Cohorts, made himſelf Maſter of *Italy*.

Domitian who was at *Rome*, taking upon him immediately the Name of *Cæſar*, ſufficiently declared, by his Adulteries, Debaucheries, and the Violence which he uſed to ſome Ladies who refuſed to comply with him, what they were to expect from him, if he were carried by Fortune, whither his Father was raiſed by his Merit. They afterwards nominated for the Conſulſhip *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, who were abſent; and they gave the chief Offices, and the greateſt marks of Honour to *Domitian*, to *Primus*, to *Varus*, and to *Cornelius Fuſcus*, who had done the greateſt Services to *Veſpaſian*. But *Mucian* was no ſooner arrived at *Rome*, but he dextrouſly drew to himſelf the Authority which the others had began to uſurp; and as he had ſome Jealouſie of *Antonius Primus*, he ſent the 7th Legion which he Commanded into Winter Quarters, and the 3d into *Syria*; becauſe *Arius Varus* was the Commander of it. By this Artifice, which he was not wanting to colour over with ſpecious Pretences, he took from them, without hazarding any thing, the opportunity of making uſe of their Advantages, and rid himſelf of what he moſt feared. *Civilis* and *Claſſicus* diſturbed the State by a Revolt, and kindled a great War in the *Gauls*, in *Batavia*, and in *Germany*, but it was of ſhort continuance, and *Civilis* was at laſt glad to make Peace to ſave his Life.

In this Juncture there happen'd a very ſtrange thing, and which I ſhould make a Scruple to mention if the moſt Faithful Hiſtorians had not Authoriſed it. When *Veſpaſian* waited for a fair Wind to paſs into *Italy*, a Blind Man, and another who was Lame of his Leg, according to *Suetonius*, or his Hand, according to *Tacitus*, fell down at his Feet by the Inſpiration of the God *Serapis*, as they ſaid, and importuned him to Cure them. The Blind Man ſaid, *That he was well aſſured that he ſhould ſee, if* Veſpaſian *would only vouch-*

ſafe to rub his Eyes (e) with his Spittle. And the Lame Man told him, *That if he would tread upon the infirm part he ſhould recover his former Strength. Veſpaſian* at firſt made a Jeſt of it, and it was not without the greateſt difficulty that he conſented to it. He asked the Phyſicians, who anſwered him in few Words, That the Viſive Power being not wholly extinct in one, might be fortified by Remedies: That the Sinews of the other were ſhrunk, but that they did not believe his Lameneſs incurable; they all added, that the Gods poſſibly might make uſe of the Miniſtry of the Emperor for this Miraculous Cure: That if it ſucceeded he would infallibly have the Glory of it, and that theſe Wretches would have the ſhame of it if it failed. Upon this reaſoning of the Phyſicians, he made the Experiment upon each of them, as they had deſired, ſmiling as he did it; but be found that the Lame Man walked freely, and the Blind Man recovered his ſight.

After he had left the Army to his Son *Titus* to make an end of the *Jewiſh* War, which could not be ended but by the taking of *Jeruſalem*, he enter'd *Rome* with great Magnificence. As the Soldiers were grown Inſolent, either with the memory of their Victories, or thro' reſentment of the ill treatment under the laſt Reigns, he took care to Caſheer ſeveral who had ſerved under *Vitellius*, and delay'd the Pay of others. He made the Soldiery exactly to obſerve the Laws and Rules which they had begun to diſpenſe with, and brought Order and Diſcipline into the Camp, where before there had been nothing but Diviſions, Menaces and Revolts. When a Young Man exceſſively Perfumed came to return him Thanks for ſome Office which he had confirmed on him, he ſaid looking with Contempt upon him, *I had much rather that you ſmelt of Garlick*; and ſending him away, revoked the Favour which he had done him. After having taking away moſt

(e) *Cauſab. ad* Sueton. Veſpaſian. *c.* 7. Dio *in* Veſp. & Spartian. *de* Hadriano.

moſt of the Rights and Privileges which the four laſt Emperors had granted, not regarding the good of the State, he reduced (*f*) *Achaia*, *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium* and *Samos* into Provinces, and did the ſame to *Comagena*, *Cilicia* and *Thrace*, which until this time had been Governed by Kings. He appointed Commiſſioners to prevent the dilatory Proceedings of Courts of Juſtice; to procure the Reſtitution of what had been unjuſtly taken from private Perſons, when Favour and Violence had render'd the Laws uſeleſs; and took Offices from Knights and Senators who had not behaved themſelves in them as they ought, to give them to others in *Italy* and in the Provinces, that were more capable to diſcharge them. Being informed that Modeſty was almoſt loſt among Women, he ordained that thoſe who Proſtituted themſelves to Slaves, ſhould be held for Slaves. To redreſs the exorbitant Expences of young Men who ruined themſelves by borrowing, he made an Edict, That the Uſurers who lent them Money ſhould loſe their Debt; and that it ſhould not be lawful for them to claim it, even after the Death of their Fathers.

Ceremony was none of his Talent; and he was ſo free in his Diſcourſes, that calling things by their Names, all his Words were not decent. He loved Rallery well, and he rallied with no ill Grace. A Lady having told him plainly, that ſhe was ready to dye for Love of him, and having alſo ſollicited him very much to uſe her as he pleaſed, he conſented that ſhe ſhould be conducted to his Chamber. Having ordered her a Thouſand Crowns after he had ſatisfied her Paſſion, and he who kept his Book of Accounts at that time being in pain how to ſet down the occaſion on which this Sum was disburſed, he began to laugh, and ſaid to the Man, Write, *For* Veſpaſian *paſſionately loved.* When he heard that a Freed-man named *Chærilus*,

(*f*) *De Regionibus redactis a* Veſpaſiano, Scaliger *ad* Euſeb. *n.* 2089. & Onuph. P. Panvin. *De Imper.* Romano. *p.* 837.

rilus, who was grown as Vain as Rich, would be every where called *Laches*, and that he had already pretended to the Nobility, he ſaid, Laches, Laches, *thou ſhalt be* Chærilus *alſo after thy Death*, which was as much as to ſay, that let him diſguiſe his Name as he would, he ſhould pay for the remainder of his Life, as thoſe who were not of the Nobility, and that his Heirs ſhould do the ſame. After he had put off to another Day one of his Servants who preſſed him to give the Office of Keeper of his Plate to a certain Perſon whom he called Brother, he cauſed the Perſon who ſued for the Place to be brought privately to him, and when he had got from him all that he had promiſed his Servant, and this latter came afterwards into his Chamber, and deſired him again to grant him the ſame Favour he had before requeſted of him, he anſwered him, *He whom thou commonly calleſt thy Brother is lately become mine, and I adviſe thee to ſeek out another of them.* His Son *Titus* repreſenting to him, that a certain Tax that he had laid on all that ſhould make Water in the Streets, ſavoured ill, *Veſpaſian* made him put his Noſe to the firſt Money that was Collected of that Tax; and when he asked him whether this Money ſeemed to have an ill ſmell, he anſwered *No*; *Veſpaſian* ſaid, *And yet it came from Urine.* When he was in great danger, he was informed that the Sepulchre of the *Cæſars* opened, and that a hairy Comet was ſeen in the Heavens. He anſwered, that this opening of the Sepulchre regarded none but *Julius Calvinus*, who was of *Auguſtus*'s Race; that the Comet only regarded the King of the *Parthians*, who uſed to wear long Hair; and he was no ſooner ſeized with the Diſeaſe of which he dyed, but he ſaid, *I am much miſtaken, if in a little time, they do not make me a God.*

He bore with wonderful Patience the Liberty which his Friends took in their Diſcourſes with him, the Equivocations of Lawyers, and the Churliſhneſs of Philoſophers. When *Salvius Liberalis*, in defending the Cauſe of *Hipparchus* that was accuſed, cryed out in the Senate, *That it was of Importance to* Cæſar *that* Hipparchus *was worth* 2500000, to intimate that he was accuſed

cuſed at the Inſtance of the Emperor, who deſired to make an Advantage of the Confiſcation of his Eſtate, he never reproached him for it, nay he commended him for his Boldneſs. Obſerving that *Demetrius*, a Philoſopher of the Sect of the *Cynicks*, who lay in his way, had not the manners to riſe in honour to him, he only called him a *Dog*.

He had no ſecret Hatreds, and he loved Revenge ſo little, that he beſtowed the Daughter of his Enemy *Vitellius* honourably in Marriage, and gave her a great Dowry, ſplendid Furniture, and all ſorts of Jewels. Having been Diſgraced by *Nero* for Sleeping whilſt the latter play'd, and enquiring of one and another to what place he might go, a certain Servant thruſting him back ſaid ſomething to him that was very Inſolent: and when afterwards he deſired his Pardon, *Veſpaſian* ſent him away with the ſame Words, and carried his Anger no further. He alſo pardoned the *Alexandrians* who pulled down all his Statues; ſhewed no Reſentment againſt *Helvidius Priſcus*, who at his return from *Syria*, called him only *Veſpaſian*, without the Title of *Emperor* or *Auguſtus*; and had ſo little Reſpect for him, that he never named him in his Ordinances, as long as he was Prætor. This *Helvidius* being diſgraced for his Inſolences, he ordered thoſe who had been ſent to Execute him, ſhould be recalled; and he had ſaved him, if ſome had not anſwered, That he could not be obeyed, for the blow was already given. The Philoſopher *Apollonius*, whoſe Life *Philoſtratus* wrote, being deſired to come to him, unmannerly refuſed it, and wrote to him, *That he who had reduced* Greece *under Slavery, ought not to deſire the Converſation of a* Grecian: *That poſſibly he thought, that in ſubjecting it he had done greater things than* Xerxes *did; but he had done leſs than* Nero, *who with his Buffoonry reſtored its Liberty.* Theſe Reproaches hindred him not from having an Eſteem for *Apollonius*: And Clemency was ſo natural to him, that he gave order that they ſhould ceaſe from the Perſecution which they had begun againſt the Chriſtians, adding, *That it was not for Men to revenge the Gods, who could revenge themſelves on their Enemies, if they would*

diſcharge

diſcharge their Wrath upon them. The Cruelties of *Nero* made him often Weep; and he was ſo far from rejoycing at the Death of others, that the juſt Puniſhments which were inflicted on Criminals ſometimes drew Tears from him. It is true he could never be brought to favour *Julius Sabinus* of *Treves*, who having invaded *Burgundy* was there defeated with the *Lingones*, (g) and who after he had eſcaped from the Fight, was hid nine Years in a Cave with his Wife *Eponiena* or *Peponilla*, who in this very place nouriſhed and brought up two Children which this unfortunate, but vertuous Lady, had by him. But this great ſeverity of his will never be blamed if it be conſidered that he was willing to make his Reign quiet, to eſtabliſh *Titus* and *Domitian* in ſuch a manner, that there might be no oppoſition to their Succeſſion to him. *Julius Sabinus* who was Haughty, Ambitious and Daring, boaſted that he was deſcended from *Julius Cæſar*, by an Amour which this Emperor had with his Grandmother in the *Gauls*, had proclaimed himſelf *Cæſar*, and could not but be ſuſpected by him on all Accounts. If his Clemency might not have been fatal to the State, it is probable he would have pardoned him; he, I ſay, who had ſo great and noble a Soul, that having been warned to diſtruſt *Metius Pompoſinas*, whoſe Horoſcope portended Empire to him, honoured him with the Conſulſhip, adding, *That poſſibly one Day he would remember this Favour.*

Some have taxed him with Inconſtancy; and it is certain, that after the Death of *Flavia Domitilla* he took *Cænis* again, who had been *Antonia*'s Freed-woman, and for whom he had a violent Paſſion, and ſo great a Reſpect that he treated her as if ſhe had been his Wife. But this Lady, who had Beauty, Wit, and a prodigious Memory, had alſo contributed to his Advancement; and what was no leſs Conſiderable, he had experienced her Fidelity on all Occaſions. After ſhe dyed he choſe a great number of Miſtreſſes; and it plainly appeared that

(g) *Now the People of* Langres

that he was no Enemy to Women. He would never marry again for fear of leaving matter of Diviſions and Civil Wars to his two Sons, if he had had more Children by a ſecond Wife.

He may be rather reproached with (*h*) Covetouſneſs, and this is the Fault and the only one that moſt Hiſtorians charge him with. He revived the Taxes that had been impoſed by *Galba*, impoſed new ones, and ſome not very Creditable; increaſed the Impoſts on the Provinces; and privately traded in Merchandizes, which another durſt not have ſold for his own Reputation. It is alſo affirmed he ſold the Honours and Offices that he beſtowed: That accuſed and guilty Perſons got off with him for Money; and that he preferred Receivers who were the beſt skilled in Pillaging, that he might condemn them afterwards. He alſo ſaid, *That he made uſe of theſe People as Spunges, which they wet when they are dry, and ſqueeze out when they are full.* A Herds-man having often Petitioned him to make him Free *Gratis*, and being not able to prevail with him, cryed out aloud, *That a Fox might change his Hair, but never his Nature*; intimating thereby, that he was grown never the more Liberal for being Emperor. Some Ambaſſadors having acquainted him, that their State would erect him a Statue as big as a *Coloſſus*, and that it would coſt a great deal, he commanded it ſhould be placed on his Hand, *the hollow whereof might ſerve for a Pedeſtal*, and gave them to underſtand, that he valued the Money which they were about to expend on this Statue, more than all the Honours they intended him by it. This Reply gave occaſion it may be to the *Archimime* or the Maſter Buffoon named *Favo*, whom *Suetonius* mentions. As in the Funerals of great Men there walked before the Effigies of the Deceaſed a Buffoon who declared their Inclinations and Diſpoſitions, *Favo*, who at the Funeral of *Veſpaſia*, acted this ridiculous patt, having heard that

(*q*) *Prorſus ſi avaritia abeſſet, Antiquis ducibus par.* Tacit. *Hiſt. l.* 2. *c.* 5. §. 1.

that the Funerals would coſt 250000 Crowns, ſaid publickly, *That* (i) *they ſhould have given it to him, and he would have given them leave to have thrown his Body into the* Tiber.

I have nothing to ſay to this Herdſman, who deſerves not to be regarded; and if we muſt anſwer Fools according to their Folly, we are not to anſwer this Buffoon but by Silence, which is the Anſwer of wiſe Men. If we look well into Hiſtory, we ſhall find that *Veſpaſian* was not Covetous; and if he hath been accuſed of being ſo, he hath been wronged. Some have ſaid, as *Suetonius* is forced to confeſs, that he did not theſe things which they blame, but purely out of Neceſſity that compelled him to it; and that as ſoon as he came to the Throne, he ſaid publickly, that he wanted Two thouſand Millions to put the State in the condition it had formerly been in; and it will appear that he was in the right, if we examine the profuſe Expences of *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Galba* and *Vitellius*; the Charges of the Civil and Forreign Wars; the Diſorders which had been cauſed by theſe Wars; and the publick and private Loſſes which had been ſuſtained thereby.

Indeed he did not give to all the World without Diſcretion; and he knew ſo well how to place his Favours, that *Eutropius* and *Suidas* have for this reaſon called him *the moſt Liberal of the Emperors*. What was wanting to the ordinary Revenue which the Senators ought to have to ſupport their Honour, he ſupplyed after a moſt obliging manner; and gave every Year 12500 Crowns to Conſular Perſons who had not whereon to Live ſuitable to their Quality. He preſented the ſame Sum to *Saleius Baſſus*, who was a Celebrated Poet; gave 10000 to *Apollinarius* a Player of Tragedies; and 5000 to *Terpnus* and *Diodorus*, two Harpers. Although Learning was not his Talent, yet he ordered a Penſion

(i) *Ut audiſti, ſeſtertium C. exclamavit centum ſibi ſeſtertia darent et in Tiberim projicerent*, Sueton. *Reſcribendum puto Seſtertium Millies.* Merus. *de Luxu* Romanorum.

a Penſion of 2500 Crowns to *Latin* and *Greek* Rhetoricians, and had ſo particular an Eſteem for thoſe who were Eminent in their reſpective Profeſſions, that to excel in Architecture, Painting, Poetry or Muſick, was a certain way to receive ſolid marks of his Favours. If any one had found out an Invention to make things with leſs Charge than they were commonly made, he recompenſed him for his Invention, but would have the old way followed, *To the end*, ſaid he, *that poor People might not loſe their Livelyhood.* To maintain thoſe who ſold Proviſions he made great Feaſts every Day, and never failed to give the Men New-Years Gifts in the *Saturnalia*; and on the firſt Day of *March*, he gave others to the Women. He confirmed the *Jews* in their Privileges; gave to all *Spain* the Rights of *Roman* Citizens, Rebuilt entire Cities that had been ruined by Earthquakes. He Rebuilt *Antioch*, according to the Author of the Chronicon of *Alexandria*, where he placed the *Seraphins* and *Cherubins* of caſt Braſs, which had been found by his Son *Titus* in the Temple of *Jeruſalem* with Forty poliſhed Bulls on the ſide of this City, and dedicated the whole to the Moon, by the favour of whoſe Light it was taken. On the Ruins of the Synagogue, if we will believe the ſame Author, he built the ſtately Temple of *Daphne*, where he ſet up her Statue in Marble; and it is certain that he employed prodigious Sums to repair the Highways, the Ports and Havens. Beſides the Temple of *Claudius*, of which *Agrippina* had only laid the Foundations, which were alſo razed afterwards by the order of her Son *Nero*, and the Amphiatre, which had been no more than Projected by *Auguſtus*, he rebuilt the Capitol, where he Conſecrated many Cinnamon Garlands covered with Leaves or Duſt of Gold; and in *Tacitus* the Dedication of it is mentioned. But the *Temple of Peace*, which he carried on with incredible Diligence, could not but exceed all the other Temples; and it was one third bigger than that of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, for the latter was but 200 Foot long and 80 broad, whereas the other was 300 Foot in length, and 200 in breadth. He enriched it with abundance of Gold and Silver

Silver Ornaments, precious Stones, and Veſſels of Gold which had been brought from the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, with many Pictures, and a prodigious number of Statues, choſen amongſt thoſe which *Nero* had ſent for from all Parts of *Greece* by *Crato* or *Acratus*, who had taken no leſs than 500 from the City of *Delphos* only. Amongſt others there was to be ſeen *Ganymed* carried on an Eagle, done by the Hand of *Leochares*; and many pieces of Work which had been never ſeen before but in divers places far diſtant one from another, were then ſeen in this new Temple, which the Diſeaſed often viſited, imagining that the Prayers which were there made contributed to their Cure.

He had carried his Magnificence and the Glory of his Empire higher, had he lived longer. But a ſort of Dyſentery took him as he was in *Campania*, and made him haſten his return to *Rome*. This Diſtemper increaſing he was forced to ſtop at the Cutylan Lake, and at certain Houſes which where beyond (*k*) *Reate*, a little City of the *Sabines*, where he was wont to ſpend the Summer. There he corrupted his Inteſtines by drinking much cold Water; and although he was under great pain, and felt himſelf very weak, he gave Audience to Ambaſſadors as uſually, and employed his whole Thoughts on nothing but the good of the State. When he perceived his Strength to fail him, he ſaid, *That an Emperor ought to dye ſtanding*; and endeavouring to raiſe himſelf on his Bed, he expired in his 9th Conſulſhip, betwixt the Arms of his Servants and his Friends who ſupported him, *A. M.* 4050, *A. D.* 80, on the 24th of *June*, being 69 Years 1 Month and 7 Days old, according to *Suetonius*. He was lamented by the whole World, and he muſt have been no *Roman* that mourned not for the Death of a Prince who had ſo happily Re-eſtabliſhed the Empire.

CHAP.

(*k*) *Now* Rieti.

CHAP. XIV.

TITUS.

(a) TItus *Veſpaſian*, Son of *Flavius Veſpaſian* and of *Flavia Domitilla*, was, according to *Dio*, Born on the 30th of *December*, *A. M.* 4010. *A. D.* 40. He lived about 42 Years, whereof he Reigned 2 and 9 Months, according to *Aurelius Victor*; 2 Years 2 Months and 20 Days, acording to *Dio*; or 2 Years and 22 Days, according to *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*.

After the Death of his firſt Wife *Arricidia*, the Daughter of *Tertullus* a *Roman* Knight, and Captain of the Prætorian Guards, he Married *Martia Fulvia*, or as *Suetonius* names her, *Martia Furnilla*, of a Noble Family, and Divorced her whilſt he was a private Perſon. He had by her *Julia Sabina*, who married *Flavius Sabinus*; and as I ſhall ſpeak of this Princeſs in another place, it will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that ſhe was very Beautiful, but not ſo Vertuous.

He had a Stature a little above the middle ſize, good Features, his Belly ſomewhat big, an agreeable, charming and eaſie Acceſs; a ſweet and prepoſſeſſing Mine, a noble Air, which created Love and Reſpect, and if *Ælian* hath not flattered him when he ſaid, *That he was equally Good and Beautiful*, he muſt have been the moſt Accompliſhed and the moſt Lovely of Princes. There was obſerved ſo great a Modeſty in his Words, his Actions, and his Deſigns, that *Ammianus Marcellinus* thought he could not ſay a greater thing of the Emperor *Julian*, than when he ſaid, *His Prudence was equal to that of* Titus. He was throughly skilled in Muſick, play'd perfectly well on the Harp, was expert in the Exerciſes of War and Peace; Docile, Modeſt,

(a) *Numi et lapides habent* Titus Cæſar Veſpaſianus Auguſtus.

Active and Strong, had a prodigious Memory, a ſolid Judgment, and an Underſtanding capable of every thing. What was difficult for others to conceive, he could comprehend at firſt ſight, and he was ſo fluent in expreſſing himſelf both in the *Greek* and the *Latin* Tongues, that his Speeches coſt him no pains; That even in play he made Verſes Extempore on any Subject that was given him. His Pleadings were admired by all People, although he was not much inclined to plead often, and never undertook but important Cauſes. But he handled them with ſuch Strength, ſuch Art and Grace, that the moſt Celebrated Lawyers were forced to yield to him. He had not only a pure and clean Stile, but he wrote ſo fair, that his Characters ſeemed to be Painted, which is rare in Princes; and he wrote as faſt as could be dictated to him. To divert himſelf he ſometimes challenged his Secretaries to try which could write beſt and quickeſt; and he ſo dextrouſly counterfeited all the Hand Writings that he ſaw, that he was wont to ſay, *That if he would he could be a great Forger of Writings.*

He was Educated in his Youth with *Britannicus*, the Son of *Claudius* and *Meſſallina*; and *Suetonius* relates, that one who judged of Men by the Phyſiognomy, after having examined them both well, aſſured *Narciſſus*, that *Titus* would be one Day Emperor, and that *Britannicus* would never be. They both loved one another tenderly; and when the Poyſon of the Sorcereſs *Locuſta* was given to *Britannicus*, *Titus* who was at the ſame Table near him, in the Hall where *Nero* Eat, taſted of the Drink which they had given this young Prince, and he was a long time ill upon it. He remembred their Friendſhip which was founded upon their Vertue, although they were Young, and as his Memory was very dear to him, he erected him a Statue of Gold in the Palace, and dedicated to him another of Ivory, which he accompanyed in the Circenſian Games, where he had it carried in Ceremony.

When *Veſpaſian* was purſuing his Conqueſts in *Judæa*, he reſolved to ſend *Titus* to *Galba*, to do Homage to

to him and to ſerve him; but *Titus* was no ſooner got to *Corinth* but he met with the News of the Emperor's Death, and ſome aſſured him, that *Vitellius* had taken Arms againſt *Otho*. That he might not be ſtopt by either of them, on which ſide ſoever Fortune ſhould declare it ſelf, he determined to return; and ſome have believed, that *Berenice*, *Agrippa*'s Siſter, made him break off this Journey. Although he had a very tender Paſſion for her, the Succeſs ſhewed that he was a Politician as well as a Lover, and did not manage all his Affairs according to her Pleaſure. He was already as far as *Paphos*, where he Sacrificed many Victims to *Venus*, and when he had conſulted the Oracle, and *Soſtratus* the Prieſt of the Temple had aſſured him what his Fortune was to be, he went directly to his Father, engaged *Mucian* in his Intereſt, Sollicited the Kings that were in Allyance with the *Romans*, ſecretly gained the Soldiers, and puſhed on *Veſpaſian*'s Fortune ſo far, that the Soldiers Recognized him for their Emperor.

When he was a Military Tribune, he bore Arms in *Germany* and *Brittain*, and they erected a great number of Statues to him, for the great Actions he had performed. He was Treaſurer; and in *Judæa* he was Tribune of a Legion. He took the Cities of *Japhe*, of *Tarichæa*, and of *Gamala*, where his Horſe being killed under him in the Fight, he at the ſame Inſtant leaped upon a Horſe of one of his Enemies who fell Dead to the Ground from it, as he endeavoured to reſiſt him. All that were found in this City, which was taken by Storm, were put to the Sword, even to Infants; and there were only two Women who hid themſelves, that eſcaped this great Slaughter. *Veſpaſian*, who was importuned to go to *Rome*, and who had reduced all *Judæa*, except *Jeruſalem*, left the Conduct of this famous Siege to *Titus*, to whom it was a Joy to Command a great Army, but this Joy would not have laſted long, if his Fortune had not anſwered his Courage. As he went to view the City, the *Jews* ſallied out in great numbers upon, forced his Cavalry to divide, and having ſtopt the reſt that followed him, hin-

dred them from joining him. He finding no Paſſage open to retreat, and foreſeeing well that it would be impoſſible for him to get to his Troops, through the Ditches, the Gardens, and the Houſes that were all Demoliſhed, he Spurring on his Horſe with all his Might, made directly towards the Enemy, crying out to the Horſemen who accompanied him, *Follow me.* He breaks through the *Jews*, diſperſes them, and makes his way, with his Sword in his Hand, Kills or Charges the moſt Reſolute, joins again his Soldiers who waited for him, without being Wounded, though they all ſhot at him, and he had neither Head-piece, Coat of Armor, nor Buckler. After he had ſent Meſſages of Accommodation to thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, who ſlighted his Advice, and all his Offers, he reſolved to Beſiege them; and omitted nothing that was requiſite to fortifie his Army againſt their Sallies. Three flagitious Perſons, *John*, *Eleazar* and *Simon*, who had made three powerful Parties, had at that time the Command of the whole City; and there was no Cruelty which they did not exerciſe under pretence of defending it. During theſe Diſorders *Titus*, who daily carried on his Works, preſſed it vigorouſly with his Attacks, with his Battering Rams, and with terrible Engines, and ſpared no pains to reduce it. The Beſieged on the other ſide defended themſelves with all their Might, nor could they be brought to Surrender by Menaces nor Famine, which was ſo great, that a Buſhel of Wheat was ſold there for 600 Crowns, and a Woman named *Mary*, killed her ſucking Child, and boiled him to ſatisfie her raging Hunger. At this News *Titus* was ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment, Horror and Pity altogether, and failed not to ſend to exhort them to repent of what they had done, and he would forgive them. But this obſtinate People refuſing, he ſwore, *That he would expiate this horrid Meal with the Deſolation of* Paleſtine, *and that by the entire Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem *he would cauſe the Sun ſhould not ſhine for the future on a City where the Mothers Nouriſhed themſelves with the Fleſh of their Children.* Having gotten poſſeſſion of the two outward Walls, he aſſaulted the third, where

where he killed with 12 Arrow ſhots, 12 of thoſe who defended it, and at laſt became Maſter of it. Notwithſtanding the ſtrict Charge which he gave the *Romans*, not to burn the Temple, they ſet Fire to it; and the reſt of the City was at the ſame time Deſtroyed or Pillaged. Never was there a more cruel, nor a more obſtinate Siege than this, for there dyed of the Sword and Famine Eleven hundred thouſand Perſons, of the Three Millions that were aſſembled at *Jeruſalem* to Celebrate the Paſſover there. They took (*b*) Ninety ſeven thouſand Priſoners, whereof one half were ſold, and the other carried into divers Parts to ſerve Princes, who took pleaſure to ſee them fight with Beaſts, to whom they were at laſt a Prey. After the taking of it he aſſembled his whole Army in a Plain, and having cauſed a Throne to be raiſed for himſelf before the Camp, he returned Thanks to all the Soldiers; ordered that they ſhould have their ſhare of the Spoils, which were ſo great, that Gold was ſold in *Syria* for half what it was worth before. He preſented ſome with Gold Crowns and Chains, with long Spears of the ſame Mettle; others with Garments, with Gold and Silver in Money, with precious Stones; offered Prayers to the Gods for his Army, and Sacrificed for the happy Succeſs which he had in his Enterpriſe.

The People of *Aſcalon*, of *Antioch* in *Syria*, and of ſome particular Cities received very great Favours from him, as it is eaſie to prove by ſome of his Medals; and when he had ſet in order all the Affairs of *Judea*, he found himſelf obliged to go to *Rome*, where he was received ſo honourably, that his Father himſelf made no queſtion whether he ought to go and meet him. Some time after it was agreed that *Veſpaſian* and his two Sons ſhould Triumph, and this Triumph was ſomewhat extraordinary.

In other Triumphs the Temples of the Gods were open'd, filled with delicious Perfumes, adorned with Feſtoms and Garlands; the Streets ſtrewed with Saf-

(*b*) *Vid.* Joſeph. *De Bello Judaico. l.* 7.

fron; Birds let loose before the Triumpher; and a long train of Carriages, in which were rich Stuffs, Garments, Harneſſes, Bundles of Arrows, Armor, Swords, Spears, Bucklers, Javelins and Throphies of War. There had been ſeen Pictures, Statues, Led-Horſes, Elephants and Dromedaries, Oxen deſtined for Sacrifice, coſtly Veſſels, Slaves, and all theſe things conducted in order with the ſound of Trumpets. But in the Triumph of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* the Magnificence was carried farther, and nothing was wanting that might contribute to make the *Roman* Grandure admired. On the day of the Triumph, the Men, Women and Children, finely dreſſed, lined the Streets in great order. The Soldiers who were without, with rich Silk Clothes, and Laurel Garlands on their Heads, marched in order of Battel in the Morning, almoſt to the Gates of the Temple of *Iſis*, where *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* had ſlept, who came out each with a Laurel Garland, and a Purple Robe, and proceeded to the Galleries of *Octavia*, where the Senators and the Knights waited for them. Near which there was a Scaffold raiſed, and two Ivory Chairs in which the Emperor and *Titus* placed themſelves, whoſe great Actions the Soldiers and Officers were not wanting to proclaim. But when *Veſpaſian* had made a ſign to them, that every one ſhould hold his Peace, and a general Silence made, he roſe up, covered the greateſt part of his Head with his Robe, made his Prayers to the Gods, Harangued the Troops, and ſent them back to the place where he had ordered a Feaſt to be prepared for them. After this he went towards the Triumphal Gate to Sacrifice Beaſts to the Gods which were placed over this Gate, paſſed through the Streets betwixt the Scaffolds which they had raiſed for the ſight of this Ceremony. Then were ſeen an incredible number of Crowns, and other pieces of Workmanſhip of Gold, covered with precious Stones, Purple Robes, and others Embroydered with Gold; Images of ſeveral Gods, Carriages laden with Spoils, People ſplendidly Clad, and Priſoners who were this Day adorned to add to the Splendor of the Ceremony. But the moſt wonderful part of it were

the

the Pictures which were carried in it, no leſs than 20 or 24 Foot high, with Gold or Ivory Frames; and in theſe Pictures were repreſented Battels, Walls demoliſhed by Engines, Cities burnt given up to be Pillaged, or taken by Storm, Ships grappled or ſinking, and Rivers dyed with Blood, which ſeemed to run through the Fire. All the Spoils of the Enemy were ſeen there, and amongſt others there was the Gold Table and Gold Candleſtick, whoſe ſeven Branches ſignified the Sabbath, which is the 7th Day, which the *Jews* obſerve, and the Book of their Law. In this magnificent ſhew the Emperor *Veſpaſian* appeared in a Chariot, *Titus* in another, *Domitian* on his ſide on a white Horſe, and ſeveral Perſons who carried Gold Statues, and the Images of Victory. Being entred the Capitol they ſtopt, and it being the Cuſtom, that before they finiſhed the Ceremony News ſhould be brought them of the Death of one of the Enemies Commanders, it was told them, that *Simon* the Son of *Gorias*, who had defended *Jeruſalem*, and whom *Titus* had reſerved for the Triumph, was whipped to Death with Rods. The Princes compleated the Sacrifice, returned to their Palaces, where they treated part of the Aſſembly.

Afterwards *Titus* adminiſtred the Offices of Cenſor and Tribune with his Father, and was his Collegue in ſeven Conſulſhips, took to himſelf the diſpoſal of almoſt all Employments, Dictated Letters and Edicts in *Veſpaſian*'s Name. He reſerved to himſelf the Office of great Maſter of the Houſhold, and in the Exerciſe of which Office he behaved himſelf, according to *Suetonius*, with a little too much Violence. Indeed he gave not thoſe whom he once ſuſpected, time to recollect themſelves; and it is added, that he Suborned certain People, who in the Theatres and the Guard Houſe of the Pretorian Guards, ſhould peremtorily demand their Execution. Having invited *Aulus Cæcinna* to Supper, he was ſcarce entred the Hall, but he ordered him to be Aſſaſſinated for a Conſpiracy which this Conſular Perſon had Signed to. *Aurelius Victor* ſaith, that *Cæcinna* was put to Death, for being ſuſpected of having

received the laſt Favours from *Berenice*, (*c*) *Titus*'s Wife. Which way ſoever we take it, *Cæcinna* deſerved not to be Pardoned, for it concerned *Titus*'s Safety, to deſtroy him if he had conſpired againſt the State; and his Honour if he had corrupted the Fidelity of this Princeſs, for whom he had a mighty Paſſion, and whom he had already Married, according to *Victor*, or had reſolved to Marry. However that be, he omitted nothing to defend himſelf againſt the Plots of his Enemies, and to ſecure the Succeſſion of the Empire, and the Meaſures which he took in order to it, made him generally hated. His Profuſeneſs and his Expences on Feaſts contributed much to confirm the ill Opinion they had of him. As he loved the Converſation of ſome Perſons who were remarkable for nothing but their Debaucheries; he had alſo a great number of Boys who made profeſſion of an infamous Life; was influencend by *Berenice* as ſhe pleaſed; ſold the Favours and Edicts of *Veſpaſian*; it was believed that his Reign would be a fatal Day to the State, and they publickly called him for all theſe things a *Second Nero*. It was then rumour'd that de deſigned a Revolt, becauſe after the taking of *Jeruſalem* he was ſaluted with the Title of *Emperor*, and that when he was coming from *Judæa* the Soldiers cryed out, that he ſhould either ſtay or carry them with him. Some ſay, that after taking this City, he went from *Alexandria* to *Memphis*, where Crowned with a Diadem he aſſiſted at the Conſecration of the God *Apis*, which was Dedicated to the *Moon*, as that of *Alexandria* named *Mnevis* was to the *Sun*. Theſe laſt are groundleſs Suſpicions, for the Soldiers did not ſalute him with the Title of *Emperor*, but out of that Eſteem and Reſpect they had for him, and that exceſs of Joy which they expreſſed becauſe his Wife was delivered of a Daughter the ſame Day that he became Maſter of *Jeruſalem*; and he did nothing contrary to Cuſtom when he Crowned

(*c*) *Ob ſuſpicationem Stupratæ* Berenices *Uxoris ſuæ.* Lucil. Victor *in Epit.*

ed himſelf with a Diadem at the Conſecration of the Ox *Apis*.

But to anſwer the other things wherewith he is Reproached, whether it was that he was Irregular in his Conduct, or that his Brother *Domitian*, who envyed his good Fortune, did his utmoſt to diſgrace him, he opened his Eyes a while after; ſhewed that if there was nothing wanting but to overcome himſelf he was aſſured of the Victory; and that he had in his Heart all that was neceſſary to make him beloved. To convince his Enemies and thoſe that envyed him, he immediately broke off from thoſe People whoſe Converſation might be Prejudicial to him; baniſhed from his Court the young Boys of debauched Inclinations; choſe for his Friends thoſe whoſe ſtrongeſt Paſſion was to ſerve the Publick, and ſent back the fair and charming *Berenice*, the enjoyment of whom was leſs dear to him, than the love of the *Romans*. From this time he was moderate in his Expences, and look'd upon the Poſſeſſions of others as Inviolable.

He ſuccefsfully finiſhed the Amphitheatre, built almoſt in the middle of the old City, where *Nero*'s Ponds were before, and which *Veſpaſian* had began of Stone in his 8th Conſulſhip, *i. e.* about two Years before he dyed. It was of a prodigious height, of an Oval Figure; and there were no leſs than Fourſcore and ſeven Thouſand Seats or Steps of Marble, covered with Cuſhions for the Spectators of the Shows, that he gave, without reckoning the top Gallery, where Twenty thouſand Perſons more might ſit. There were Pipes without number through which the ſweet-ſented Waters did deſcend or riſe, and which diſtill'd like a ſmall miſling Rain on the Spectators. As they made Water run in or out of it as they pleaſed by Pipes and Outlets, ſo there were ſeen there on the ſame Day a Sea-fight, Sea-Monſters, Chaſes, by means of Trees which were ſet deep in the Earth, Combats of Gladiators, and others of Beaſts which they rouzed out of their Caves. Near the Theater which he dedicated he built fine Baths; and in the old Naumachy he had a Sea-fight repreſented. He propoſed a Prize

to

to the Gladiators, leaving the manner of the Combate to the choice of the Spectators; and in one Day he gave Combates of Rhinoceroſes, Elephants, Bulls, Bears, Oſtriches, Dogs, Buffalos, wild Boars, Lyons, Tigers, and to be ſhort 5000 Beaſts of different kinds, to entertain the People, whom he permitted to enter his Baths when he was Bathing, and whom he treated with great Civility. His Baths were Magnificent, and adorned with fine Statues; and it was in the Houſe or Baths of this Emperor that *Laocoon* ſtood with his Children, and the Serpents, cut all in one Stone by *Ageſander*, *Polydore* and *Athenodore* of *Rhodes*, which was found in the Popedom of *Leo* X. That the People might reap ſome Profit from that which before afforded them Pleaſure only; at the Dedication of the Amphitheatre, he threw from a high place where he ſtood, a hundred Days ſucceſſively, little Balls and Tickets to thoſe that could catch them, on which were written the Gifts which he gave, as Veſſels of Gold or Silver, Robes, Slaves, Labouring Beaſts; and theſe Gifts, according to ſome Accounts amounted to Seven Millions 500000 Crowns.

The Proſperity of his Reign was interrupted by three dreadful Accidents. There were ſeen on *Veſuvius* Tempeſts which the People of the place took for Phantoms, that were followed by terrible Earth-quakes. The Neighbouring Sea was put in a Commotion therewith; and the Mountain which opened afterwards caſt out Stones of a prodigious bigneſs, vomited Flame and Smoke; and there came out of this gap ſo vaſt a quantity of burning Aſhes, (*d*) that it killed Birds, Plants, Men, Beaſts, and covered even whole Cities. *Pliny*, the Author of the *Natural Hiſtory*, was at *Miſenum*, where he Commanded the Fleet; and whereas at the firſt Relation of it, he was deſirous to ſee it nearer, going too far his Curioſity coſt him his Life. Sometime after there was a dreadful Conflagration at *Rome*, which

(*d*) Dio. *l.* 66. Plin. *in Epiſt. binis ad Cornel.* Tacit. *l.* 6. Euſeb. *n.* 2095. Ibid. Scaliger.

which burnt the Temples of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, of *Iſis*, of *Serapis*, and of *Neptune*; the Baths of *Agrippa*, the Pantheon, the great Square where they took a Review of the Troops, the Buildings and the Library of *Auguſtus*, the Theatres of *Balbus* and of *Pompey*; and this Fire was followed by ſo raging a Plague, that Ten thouſand Perſons dyed of it in a Day.

Upon theſe Accidents he ſhewed the Care of a Prince and the Affection of a Father, endeavouring to remedy them to the utmoſt of his Power, and comforting the People with Edicts and Promiſes. He committed the Reparation of all theſe Diſorders to Conſular Perſons; and the Eſtates of thoſe who periſhed under the ſad Effects of the Fire of *Veſuvius*, and left no Heirs, were employed to repair what had beed ruined by the Aſhes, the Fire and the Stones. How great Loſſes ſoever the Fire of *Rome* had cauſed, after ſaying, *That all that had been burnt belonged to him*, he ſet upon reparing it in the moſt magnificent manner; and during the Plague he implored the Gods and Men in behalf of the Sick, whom he endeavoured to cure, or to comfort by all ſorts of Sacrifices and Remedies.

When he was made High-Prieſt, he proteſted that he accepted of this Dignity, only that he might never imbrue his Hands in the Blood of others; and he was ſo ſteady to his Promiſe, that having on a time reaſon to revenge himſelf on his Enemies, he aſſured them, *That he had rather Periſh than Puniſh.* Two Perſons of a Patrician Family having been diſcovered to have conſpired againſt his Life, he had the goodneſs to warn them of their Deſign; and carrying them ſometime after to a Combate of Gladiators, he made them ſit near him. At the ſame time he called for the Sword of a Man that was to fight, gave it into their Hands to ſee whether it had a good Point; and as they returned it again to him very reſpectfully, *You ſee*, ſaid he, *that Deſtiny gives Empire.* Nay he did more, for having underſtood both their Nativities, he aſſured them, *That they were threatned with great danger, but that they had no reaſon to fear from him*; and he was not out in his Prediction. Although he had undoubted Proofs

that

that *Domitian* had uſed all his Intereſt to draw the Armies to a Revolt, that he lay'd Snars for him every where, and that he had already prepared for flight, to avoid what he deſerved; yet inſtead of puniſhing or reproaching him with it, he courted his Friendſhip, and nominated him his Succeſſor the firſt Day that he came to the Empire. When he alſo heard that *Domitian*, after his Father was choſen Emperor, Raviſhed Ladies of the beſt Quality at *Rome*, that he had diſpoſed of above Twenty Offices, and when *Veſpaſian* reſolving to puniſh this Inſolence, ſaid in Anger, *That he wonder'd that he ſent not him a Succeſſor.* *Titus* replied to him, *That it was beſt to moderate his Anger; That it was not from Legions nor Armies, but from the number of Children that the Empire muſt expect its firmeſt Support; That Union could not be maintain'd amongſt Brothers, if the Father did not firſt ſet an Example of it.*

He wrong'd neither Stranger nor Citizen, and would never receive the Money of the Taxes that were ordinarily paid, nor even that which they offered to raiſe for him, how much ſoever they Petitioned him to permit it. To teſtifie that he was not of a humour to reſume what had been granted under the laſt Reigns (although Grants had been with little Caution enough) he confirmed thoſe Grants by an Edict; and did not wait till he was Petitioned, notwithſtanding he might juſtly have recalled them. If we conſider his Inclination, it will be found that he was born to do good; and when ſome of his Servants told him, *That he had promiſed more than he was able to give*, he anſwered, *That they who ſpoke to a Prince, ought never to be ſent from him with a ſad Countenance.* Notwithſtanding he was firm to his Promiſes, and Liberality was grown ſo habitual to him, and he took ſo great Pleaſure in it, that reflecting as he was at Supper, that he had obliged no Body that Day, he cry'd out on a ſudden, *Ah! my Friends, I have loſt this Day.*

Being ſatisfied that Informers and falſe Witneſſes lived on the Misfortunes of particular Perſons, and the Diſgrace of Families, he gave orders that thoſe who

followed

followed this infamous Trade ſhould be ſeized; That ſome of them ſhould be baniſhed into the remoteſt Iſlands, and others whipp'd in the *Forum*. The beſt Men were always the ſecureſt of his Favour; and thoſe who had once gained it, had never need to fear Fortune on that ſcore. He had as much Contempt for Slanderers, as he had an Averſion to Flatterers, and he loved things that were rare too well, not to Love Truth, which is the moſt uncommon thing in Courts, and oftentimes the only thing that is hidden from Princes.

All his Thoughts were bent on the Glory of the State, and doing good to particular Perſons; when he took a Journey into the Country of the *Sabines*, being Melancholy becauſe the Bull which he deſigned to Sacrifice had run away, and becauſe it had thunder'd in fair Weather, which was an ill Preſage with the Ancients; In the firſt Houſe where he ſtop'd he was ſeized with a violent Fever; and ſome ſay that after they had taken away the Tapiſtry that cover'd his Litter, fixing his Eyes on Heaven, he complained, *That Life was taken from him, who had not deſerved this Misfortune, proteſting that of all the things that ever he had done, there was only one that he had cauſe to repent of.* He did not declare what this thing was, and ſome have believed that he had nothing to reproach himſelf with, but that he had been more familiar than he ought to have been with *Domitia Longina*, the Wife of his Brother *Domitian*. But this Lady ſufficiently cleared him from that, and had there been any thing of it, ſhe would have been the firſt that would have publiſhed it, for ſhe had ſo little Modeſty as to glory in her Impudence and Debaucheries. *Titus*'s Fever growing more violent he was not able long to ſtrugle with it; and he expired *A. M.* 4052. *A. D.* 82. 600 Years after the building of the ſecond Temple of *Jeruſalem*. *Suetonius* ſaith, That *he dyed on the* 13*th of* September, *in the ſame Village in which his Father* Veſpaſian *dyed*. *Philoſtratus* with ſome others have believed that he was Poyſoned by *Domitian*, who made him eat of a Sea Hare, which never failed *Nero* when he deſired ſecretly to deſtroy ſome honeſt Man, as *Pliny* ſaith, and which makes

makes even all that touch it dye a lingring Death. *Cedrenus* relates it after another manner, and ſaith, *That having traveled a whole Day in the Heat, he heated himſelf to that degree, that he thereupon bled a great quantity at the Noſe; that this loſs of Blood was followed with a great Weakneſs; and under pretence to relieve him of this heat* Domitian *importuned him mightily to go into an open Tub full of Snow, where he expired.* *Aurelius Victor* ſaith, *That his Death was haſtned by Poyſon; and whereas he was adored by the whole World, there was none but* Domitian *that was capable of ſo great a Crime.* The *Jews* whoſe Temple he had ruined, gave out that he dyed of a Fly, that through one of his Noſtrils entred into his Brain; and perhaps would have others believe, that to puniſh him for all the Evils he had done to them, Heaven had made uſe of *Beelzebub* who was the God of the *Accaronites*, the Prince of Devils, the Lord of Flies, and who was alſo repreſented under the Figure of this Inſect. It was by Night that his Death was heard of, and the Senate was not able to wait till they were aſſembled by publick Proclamation. Every one ran to Court, where they render'd to the Memory of this Emperor, all the Honour that was due to him. It would have ſtruck Pity into the moſt barbarous People, to have beheld the general Conſternation the *Romans* were then under, who had reaſon to mourn for him, ſeeing that in loſing him they loſt a Prince whom they were wont to call, *Their Benefactor, the Father of his Country, and the Delight of Mankind.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

DOMITIAN.

(*a*) *Domitian*, Son of *Flavius Veſpaſian*, and of *Flavia Domitilla*, was Born when his Father was deſigned Conſul, on the 24th of *October A. M.* 4022. *A. D.* 52. He lived 45 Years according to *Aurelius Victor*; 44 and a 11 Months wanting 4 Days according to *Dio*, whereof he Reigned 15 Years and 5 Days as the latter reckons, or 15 Years and 6 Days, as *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*.

Julia Sabina, Daughter of *Titus* and *Marcia Furnilla*, was offered in Marriage to *Domitian*, who would not have her though ſhe was a Beauty, and who had more love for *Domitia Longina*, the Daughter of *Domitius Corbulo*, who ſerved *Nero* with ſo much Glory, and was ſo ill rewarded by him. *Domitia Longina* was married to *Ælius Lamia*, and as ſhe came into the Preſence of *Domitian* he Debauched her, and a while after Married her. He had by her a Son who lived a very little time, but was (*b*) Deified, as it appears from a Medal, where he his ſeated on a Globe with his Arms extended, betwixt the Seven Stars of the Bear. Notwithſtanding *Domitian* paſſionately loved *Domitia Longina*, and always called her *Auguſta*, yet he

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(*a*) In *numis Gr.* ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΣΕΒ. ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ. Item ΑΥΤ. Κ. ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. In Lat. Imp. Cæſ. Divi. Veſp. *F. Domitian. Aug. Germ. Veſpaſianum* dictum legas poſtquam in Imperio ſuccepit.

(*b*) Numus apud Octavian. Stradam 74 Divus. *Cæſar.* Imp. *Domitian.* Ita legendus ex altero Occonis *Chriſtoph. Adam Rupertus* in ſynopſin Beroldi minorem, *c.* 14. *p.* 300.

he was forced to put her away, becauſe ſhe had been too Familiar with *Paris* the moſt famous Comedian of his time. But being not able to live without her, he took her again ſome time after; and would have it believed that he did it at the deſire of the People.

He was big and well proportioned, had a modeſt Air, a handſom Noſe, large Eyes, a weak Sight, a ruddy Face, and a well ſhaped Head. In a Treatiſe *Of the care which Men ought to take of their Hair*, he comforted himſelf with his Friend, and told him, *You ſee without doubt, that I am large and handſom. Our Hair is ſubject to the leaſt Accident, although I perceive, without being much concerned at it, that mine turns Grey in my Youth; and after all you ought to conſider, that if there is nothing more pleaſing than Beauty, there is nothing that is ſooner loſt.* He was not miſtaken in his Opinion, for in a little time he grew Ill-favoured, Bald, loaden with a fat Panch, which was ſo much the more ugly, becauſe, beſides that, he had very ſhort Toes, his Legs and Thighs were alſo too ſlender and lean to ſupport ſo great a load. That modeſt Air of which he heretofore boaſted in full Senate, was alſo ſtrangely altered, and there was nothing to be obſerved in him, but a diſobliging way of receiving People, a terrible Look, and a fierce Countenance.

He was Cowardly, Treacherous, Diſtruſtful, Ambitious, Ungratful, Scornful, Covetous, Cruel, Proud, Inſolent, Impious and Diſſembling. Although he could not command his Paſſions, it was much eaſier for him to conceal his Joy, than his Fear; and although he took Fire at the leaſt mattres, his Anger was ſo much the more terrible becauſe he diſſembled his Reſentment, and ſtruck before he threatned. After all this he was ſo exact an Archer, that when he went into the Country to hunt there, he killed oftentimes no leſs than a Hundred Beaſts. With two Shots he wounded ſome on the Head where the two Arrows ſtuck like two Horns; and he ſhot his Arrows betwixt the Fingers of a Boy who held his Hand open at a diſtance, without doing him any harm. *Martial* hath alſo praiſed him for killing a very great Lyon.

When

When he was Emperor he applyed himſelf to a leſs dangerous way of Hunting, and retired every Day an hour into his Cloſet, where he buſied himſelf in killing Flies with a Bodkin, inſomuch that *Vibius Criſpus*, being asked by one, whether there was no Body with the Emperor, anſwer'd pleaſantly enough, *No, not ſo much as a Fly*. *Quintilian*, *Pliny* and *Martial* have eſteemed him much for his Poems; but their Praiſes have been ſuſpected by others, who have judged of him without Paſſion or Intereſt; and when they made a good Poet of *Domitian*, they did that which Nature could never do. It is obſerved in *Suetonius*, that he had ill ſucceſs in making Verſes: That he applyed himſelf neither to Poetry nor Hiſtory, and that he got his Speeches made for him.

He was much diverted with playing at Dice, and he beſtowed all his leaſure Hours upon it. He commonly bathed in the Day time, eat a full Meal at Dinner, contented himſelf with an Apple at Night, and Drank very little. They often ſet before him to eat, and as he had a good Stomach, he eat a great deal, though it was always haſtily. After the Sun was once ſet, he made no Meal, and walked alone in ſome retired Place before he went to Bed.

When *Vitellius*'s Soldiers ſet Fire to the Capitol, he was in it with his Uncle *Flavius Sabinus*, and hid himſelf that Night in the Temple. Having ſtolen away early in the Morning, in the Habit of a Religious, he retired to a private Houſe, and had the good Fortune not to be found out, notwithſtanding the moſt diligent ſearch his Enemies made after him. After *Antonius Primus* had made himſelf Maſter of the City, he appeared abroad, and they ſaluted him by the Name of *Cæſar*. They alſo conferred upon him the Pretorſhip with Conſular Command; but they were ſurprized, that in the beginning he made uſe of his Fortune and Favour to authorize his Adulteries and his other Crimes. He alſo diſpoſed of ſeveral Employments, gave in one Day above twenty Offices, and nominated People to ſucceed others. Afterwards he took a Journey into *Gaul*, and became ſuſpected to *Mucian*, who knew

his Temper before, and who ſaw no Counſellors about him, but ſuch as puſhed him on to all manner of Violences. Some ſay, that being at *Lyons*, he ſent ſome of his Confidents to *Petilius Cerialis* to try whether he would leave to him, at his arrival, the diſpoſal of the Army which he commanded againſt the *Gauls* and the *Germans* which had rebelled after *Vitellius*'s Death; and that it could never be diſcovered whether his deſign was to make War againſt *Veſpaſian*, or only to ſecure himſelf againſt his Brother. But *Cerialis* contented himſelf to reject the Propoſal with fair Pretences, tho' in his Heart, he derided the vanity of *Domitian*, who ſeeing himſelf deſpiſed by the old Officers for his Youth, retired afterwards into Solitude, that he might give no Jealouſie to his Brother *Titus*, whom he did not well know; and might poſſeſs the World, that there was nothing but Repoſe that was able to tempt him.

Veſpaſian had no ſooner made his Entry into *Rome*, but *Domitian* did his utmoſt to gain his Favour, by his Complaiſance, by his Modeſty, and by a certain way of living, which had been pleaſing enough had it not been affected. He accompanied his Father and Brother in their Triumph, and walk'd commonly betwixt them when they went abroad in Ceremony, or when they were to appear in Publick. Of ſix Conſulſhips he executed but one that might be call'd ordinary, and that too by prevailing with his Brother *Titus* to yield it to him, and uſe his Intereſt for him. He did his utmoſt to be ſent to *Vologeſus* King of the *Parthians*, who deſired of *Veſpaſian* Succours, and a General againſt the *Alans*; and when he knew that they were agreed, he endeavoured by Promiſes and Preſents to oblige other Kings to deſire the ſame of his Father. After the Death of *Veſpaſian* he gave out, that he was nominated *Partner of the Empire*, by his Will, which had been falſified by his Brother; and afterwards he always ſought occaſions to deſtroy *Titus*, whom at laſt he placed in the number of the Gods, after he had diſpatched him by Poyſon, though he ceaſed not to diſgrace him in his Speeches and Edicts.

In

In the first Years of his Reign they had a tolerable good Opinion of him; and he shewed so great a horror of Blood, that after the Death of *Vespasian* he proposed to make an Edict, to forbid for the future the killing of Oxen in Sacrifice. He generously rewarded all Persons who had served him, and would not take the Estates which were left him by Fathers who had Children. Whereas the People every fifth Year made a declaration of the full value of their Estates to the Censors, when the publick Taxes were settled; and whereas before this time they had seized upon the Houses of a great many particular Persons, in order to be Confiscated, he would have the Sentence deferred for two Years, and also ordered the Accuser should be banished if he lost his Cause. He generously pardoned the Clerks of Accounts who had trafficked in Merchandizes contrary to the *Claudian* Law, so called from *Claudius* a Tribune of the People who introduced it; and being not ignorant that in order to make an equal distribution of Lands, they had retrenched some parts which had been granted to old Soldiers, he restored them all to their ancient Proprietors. He suppressed all Libels that were written to disgrace Persons of either Sex, and to secure Persons of Honour, who were oftentimes accused for no other reason but because they had Estates to be Confiscated. He used the utmost Severity against those who made it their trade to accuse others, and said, *That a Prince who doth not punish Informers gives them encouragement.*

Never was there a Prince more exact in doing Justice, and the Judges needed only to follow his Example therein, to secure themselves from his Punishments or Reproofs. He punished as infamous Persons, those who had been corrupted by any Interest; and engaged the Tribunes of the People vigorously to prosecute, in the Senate, an Ædile who was known to be a covetous Person, and who had misapply'd to his own advantage, Money that was designed for another use. Being informed that a certain Senator took great pleasure in Dancing and playing the Buffoon, he deprived him of his Dignity; and also struck out of the number

of the Judges, a *Roman* Knight who had ſortiſhly taken his Wife again, whom he had before divorced, and puniſh'd as an Adultereſs. Againſt ſome of both the Orders before mentioned, *i. e.* the *Senatorian* and the *Equeſtrian*, he made uſe of the *Scatinian* Law, which appoints what Puniſhment young People are to ſuffer who make profeſſion of an Infamous Life; and he was no leſs ſevere againſt the Veſtal Virgins, who were convicted of Unchaſtity. It was for this Crime that he gave *Veronilla* and two Sifters of the Family of the *Ocellates* the liberty to chuſe the manner of their Death; that he Baniſhed thoſe who had the impudence to Debauch them; that he ordered ſome time after, that *Cornelia* the chief of the Veſtals ſhould, according to the ancient Cuſtom, be buried alive, and that her Gallant *Celer*, who was a *Roman* Knight, ſhould be whipt to Death. Some ſay that the Proofs againſt *Cornelia* were none of the ſtrongeſt; that another Lover, who had been formerly Prætor, after having confeſſed the matter under the violent pains of the Torture, eſcaped with Baniſhment; and the younger *Pliny* (*c*) plainly ſignified in a Letter, that in this Proceſs the Formalities were not over-well obſerved. He forbid Curtiſans the uſe of Litters; and to prevent Confuſion in the Publick Games, where People took promiſcuouſly as they came, the places that belonged to the Knights, he made an Order about it, and commanded that there ſhould be Officers to ſee it obſerved. That Religion might not be prophaned, he cauſed the Soldiers to demoliſh a Tomb, which one of his Freed-men had the confidence to build for his Son, of Stones that were choſen for the uſe of *Jupiter*'s Temple in the Capitol, and ordered the Bones of the Son of this Freed-man to be caſt into the Sea. To redreſs ſome Abuſes he lowered the price (*d*) of Eunuchs which remained in the Hands of thoſe who traded

(*c*) *Epiſtrij. l.* 4.

(*d*) Suet. *in* Domit. *c.* 7. Philoſtrat. *l.* 6. *de vita* Apollonij, *c.* 17. Dio. *l.* 67. *p.* 259. Euſeb. *n.* 1099. Marcellus, *l.* 18. Martial. *Epig.* 9. *l.* 6.

traded in them; prohibited any more to be made, and gave order that thoſe who played Farces publickly on Scaffolds ſhould henceforward play them no where but in private Houſes. Beſides theſe Edicts he made another, which ſufficiently ſhews that he wanted neither Prudence nor Conduct, wherein he Decreed, *That any Soldier might refuſe to depoſite above Twenty five Crowns in the Hands of the Enſign.*

To explain this Paſſage, thoſe who are not very well acquainted with Antiquity, are to underſtand, that there was an Order eſtabliſhed in the *Roman* Army, which obliged the Soldiers to put in Bank half of the Plunder which they had taken from the Enemy, and half alſo of the Gifts which had been given them by the Emperors or Generals at ſome publick Rejoycing, or after the gaining of a Victory. This Money was placed near the Colours in a Coffer, of which there were ſix in every Cohort. The Enſigns who had the charge of this Money were reſponſable for it. When the Soldiers had need of ſome, they demanded it of them; or if any one of the Legion died, each Man contributed in particular to the Charges of his Burial. By this Order they kept them from loſing their Money at Play, or ſquandering it away in Trifles; and they were alſo hereby better Clad, and had a greater Intereſt to defend their Colours. *Domitian*, who could not be ignorant of this Order, commanded that no Soldier ſhould depoſite above Twenty five Crowns with the Enſign of his Company, for fear leſt *Lucius Antonius Saturninus*, who commanded ſome Legions in *Germany*, ſhould make uſe of theſe Legions, and this Money, to revenge himſelf of the Reproach he had given him in a Letter, wherein he called him a *common Whore*. But this Prohibition of *Domitian*'s came a little too late; for *Anthony* who knew him, and mortally hated him for this reaſon, had already corrupted the Troops, which having declared him Emperor, permitted him to take the Money in the Hands of the Enſigns, to pay all the Strangers with it, that ſhould engage in his Party. Notwithſtanding this, the Auxiliary Troops of *Germany* and the neighbouring Coun-

tries being not able to join him by reaſon of the overflowing of the *Rhine*, he was attacked and defeated by *Lucius Maximus* and *Norbanus Appius*, who took him Priſoner and ſent his Head to *Domitian*, who was pleaſed enough with the Preſent.

To the four Companies or Troops of the Circenſian Games he added two more that were conſiderable, one clad in Cloth of Gold for its Livery, and the other in Purple, according to *Suetonius*; or one of Gold and the other of Silver, according to *Xiphiline*; and for his particular Guard he had a Company of choſen *Moors*, who always followed him. He entertain'd the People with Chariot Races; a Fight on Foot, and another on Horſeback; a Sea-fight in the Amphitheatre; divers Chaſes; and Combats of Gladiators at Midnight, by the light of abundance of Torches and Lamps. In a great Lake which he had the Curioſity to make near the *Tiber*, he repreſented divers Naval Fights; and to improve upon the Emperors, who had not refined enough, as he thought, on the Combats of Gladiators, he made Dwarfs fight againſt Dwarfs, and low Men againſt low Men. To teſtifie his Devotion to *Jupiter*, who had a Temple in the Capitol, he inſtituted three Prizes in honour of him, one of Muſick, the ſecond for fighting on Horſeback, and the third for Racing and the Lute: He propoſed ſome for Poetry, for Dancing, for the Harp, for *Greek* and *Latin* Eloquence. At the Race of a Virgin who Perſonated *Atalanta*, he ſat as Judge in the ſight of all the People, with Pantofles, a Purple Robe, and a Golden Crown after the *German* Faſhion, whereon were painted *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, accompanied with the Prieſt of *Jupiter*, and the Prieſts of the Temple of the *Flavij*, who had all Robes and Crowns like his own. He Celebrated alſo every Year, in the Territories of *Alba*, the Feaſts of *Minerva*, called *Quinquatia*, from the *Latin* Word *Quinque*, either becauſe they began five Days after the *Ides* of *March*, that is to ſay, on the 20th Day of that Month; or becauſe they continued five Days ſucceſſively; or becauſe they believed *Minerva* was Born five Days after the *Ides* of *March*; or becauſe her Temple,

Temple, which ſtood on the *Aventine* Hill was Conſecrated on that Day. He obſerved this Feſtival with great Solemnity; the firſt Day of which, as all know, who have any skill in Antiquity, was employed in Sacrifices; the three following Days were appointed for the Combats of Gladiators; and on the 5th a general Proceſſion was made through the whole City. As he believed himſelf to be the Son of *Minerva*, he was without doubt engaged in Honour to do more for her than others had thought fit to do; and for this reaſon he Founded a handſom College, or a ſort of Academy. In this Society the Directors and Maſters of the Ceremonies, who gave the diverſion of Chaſes and Comedies on the Theatres, were to be choſen by Lot, and alſo to have the diſpoſal of the Prizes, which were ordinarily given to thoſe who excelled others in Verſe or Proſe. In the Feſtivals termed *Paganalia*, in which none at *Rome* were permitted to go in a Litter or Chariot, he diſtributed Baskets full of Proviſions to the Senators and the Knights, Paniers of the ſame to the common People; and with whom he would Eat as well as with the former. The Day following he threw abundance of things to be ſcrambled for, and every one kept what he could catch. But whereas the greateſt part of the things fell where the People were, he ordered Fifty Tickets to be thrown where the Senators were, and as many where the Knights ſat; on each of which Tickets was marked a certain ſum of Money, which was to be pay'd by the Treaſurer, or his Deputy, upon ſight of the Ticket. He thrice made Preſents to the People, and gave them above three Millions and a half of Gold. He encreaſed the Pay of the Soldiers from ſeven to ten Crowns a Month, and the loweſt Officers, the Enſigns, the Lieutenants, the Captains, the Majors, the Colonels, and the Lieutenant-Generals, had their pay augmented proportionably, which amounted every Year to prodigious Sums.

The Men of Learning were in ſome meaſure comforted after the Fire which conſumed ſo great a number of Books, in the Reign of his Brother *Titus*, when

they ſaw *Domitian* deſigned to repair this loſs. He did his utmoſt to repair the Libraries; ordered ſearch to be made for what was moſt Curious and Rare in the Provinces, and ſent Men on purpoſe to *Alexandria*. Such a Curioſity could not be diſpleaſing. But all the World admired his Magnificence much more. He built (*e*) a place wherein were play'd Muſick-Prizes. One of Stone for a mock Seafight. Another for a Court of Judicature. A moveable Palace. The Temple of the *Flavij*; That of *Jupiter* the *Preſerver*, and another of *Minerva*, which was made entirely of Copper, without any Carpenters Work about it. Beſides ſome other Buildings, mentioned by Hiſtorians, he repaired the place where the Soldiers Muſtr'd, the Pantheon, the Temple of *Iſis*, of *Serapis*, and the Capitol. The laſt of theſe was a wonderful Work, as he will believe that conſiders that above Ten thouſand Men might be drawn up in Battel in the ſpace that was ſurrounded with Pillars and Galleries. The Gates and the Covering of the Temple were of Copper, or of caſt Braſs, raiſed with great and thick Plates of Gold, and five Millions of Crowns were expended in the Building of it, and ſeven Millions two hundred thouſand Crowns in the Guilding of it. His Palace was as aſtoniſhing a Work as this, the Chambers whereof were enriched with precious Stones, and the Porticos, the Halls, and the Apartments of his Miſtreſſes, with the moſt curious Workmanſhip. If in the Baths which the Emperors built for publick uſe, there were Woods, Walks of Trees, Gardens, Grottos, Terraſs-walks, Ponds of running Water, Galleries full of Statues, and Places for all ſorts of Exerciſes. If there was nothing to be ſeen upon the Walls but Marble and Ivory; if there were Chambers of Glaſs, if the bottom of the Baths, the Reſervatories, the Canals

(*e*) *De* Domitiani *magnificientia in extruendis Templis et aliis publicis edificijs*; Sueton. c. 5. Alexander Donatus, l. 1. *De Urbe* Roma, c. 26. Scaliger *ad* Euſeb. 2105.

nals, the Ciſterns, the Veſſels, the Beds, the Seats, the Tables were of Silver, and if there were Pipes of Gold; if they walked even on Pearls, What Riches did there ſhine in the Baths which *Domitian* made for his pleaſure and for his own uſe?

Theſe Appearances were admirable, but they were no more than Appearances; and although he had expended prodigious Sums in building Temples and Palaces, he was never the more Devout, nor the more Magnificent. He built by Inclination and Cuſtom, and he would have had all that was about him turned, as *Plutarch* ſaith, into Gold and precious Stones. He eſteemed Learned Men never the more for making great Libraries, ſince he expelled even the Philoſophers; nor was he ever the greater Captain for the pay of the Soldiers.

Although he was well enough pleaſed to be thought Modeſt, he was naturally ſo Proud, that *Cænis*, who was tenderly loved by his Father, coming to kiſs him upon his return from a Voyage, he only gave her his Hand, although he was not then a Prince. He was alſo Inſolent and Ungrateful enough to publiſh, after he was Emperor, *That* Veſpaſian *and* Titus *had at laſt reſtored by their Death the Empire which he had given to both.*

He undertook four or five Expeditions into *Germany*, the People whereof were very ſubject to Revolt, and in theſe Expeditions he made himſelf a ſorry Spectacle to thoſe who beheld him, being not able to endure the leaſt toſſing of the Veſſel, or the noiſe of the Oars, every ſtroke of which made him tremble. When he was to paſs either the *Rhine* or the *Danube*, he cauſed himſelf to be tyed in a Wherry towed with Ropes, where he ſat without Action or Motion, drawn like a Criminal or a Captive. That which was moſt extraordinary was, that the *Sarmatians* having defeated a Legion; the *Tranſilvanians* beaten the Troops commanded by *Oppius Sabinus* and *Cornelius Fuſcus*, and theſe Commanders ſlain in theſe two Rencounters, he thought fit to Triumph for his Loſſes. Being forced to fly, and having no other Refuge, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Decebalus* King of the *Tranſilvanians*, to propoſe

poſe a Treaty of Peace with him, and ſpared neither Prayers, Promiſes, nor Money to engage him to it. *Decebalus*, who much ſuſpected his Deſign, ſold him a Peace which he would have been glad to have bought himſelf; and to contribute to his Vain-glory, he ſent him for his Money, Arms and Men, which ſerved to the Magnificence of his Triumph. Thus the Emperor ſubdued the King, who liked it very well; and a Laurel Crown was offered in the Capitol to *Jupiter*, for the defeat of the *Romans*. As he was a great lover of Ceremony, he managed things ſo well, that they decreed him a ſecond Triumph for the Victory he had gained over the *Germans*, and over the *Gauls*; and to ſhew that he deſerved ſo great an Honour, he bought Slaves, and made them paſs for Priſoners of War. After this, can we wonder if there is ſeen in the Reverſe of ſome of his Medals, an Eagle holding a Thunderbolt, and menacing Rebels with it? If he carries a Laurel Branch in a Chariot, drawn by Elephants, for a mark of his Victories? If *Pallas* is ſeen there, who is the Goddeſs of Warriors, to ſhew that ſhe was never wanting to him when there was occaſion in his Enterprizes? If at *Rome* they Dedicated a Temple to him under the Name of *Hercules*, for ſo many Monſters which had coſt him ſo little to quell? In memory of theſe great Exploits he took the Surname of *Germanicus*, gave the ſame to the Month of *September*, and that of *Domitian* to *October*, becauſe he was Born in one, and began his Reign in the other: Being not contented with theſe Honours he cauſed Triumphal Arches to be built for himſelf in the fourteen Quarters of the City, and would have no Statues Conſecrated to him in the Capitol, if they were not of Gold, or of Silver; and alſo of an hundred Pound weight, as ſome ſay. He was a great Devoto of *Minerva*, and no wonder, for he boaſted that he was her Son. He required his Officers and Governorus, in ſending his Orders, to begin their Letters, *It pleaſeth our Lord and our God*; and afterwards it was prohibited to treat him after any other manner; and when he took *Domitia* again, whom he had divorced, he ſaid, *That ſhe was called to his Sacred Bed.*

She

She was Beautiful and Voluptuous; but as a Woman is not for the Palate of a Lew'd or Capricious Perſon, when he poſſeſſeth her by Marriage, the name of Wife being not thought a Name of Pleaſure, but Honour; he made a Declaration of Love to *Julia Sabina* his Brother's Daughter; and the Match was ſoon made. The Neice, who was not ill humoured, and who naturally loved Company, eaſily admitted her Uncle's; and in the Reign of *Titus* they were well enough agreed. After this Emperor's Death they were more free in their Amours; and what is uncommon, this Liberty increaſed his Paſſion for her. She was with Child as ill Fortune would have it, but to prevent its Birth, he conſtrained her to uſe ſome Remedies which kill'd both the Child and the Mother. Had *Domitian* Married her after the Death of *Flavius Sabinus*, as *Philocrates* indeed ſaith that he did, he would have rejoyced at this Big-belly which he endeavoured to hide to ſave his Miſtreſs's Honour, and to keep from the World the knowledge of their Inceſt, which they could not but ſuſpect. He had not ſo great regard for other Perſons, ſince he Bathed with the lewdeſt Women, kept Miſtreſſes who could tell whether he knew how to Shave; and if the Reader doth not underſtand me well, he need only look upon the 22d Chapter of *Suetonius*. They alſo add, that *Claudius Pollio*, who had been Prætor, ſhewed a Letter, wherein he had offered to paſs a Night with him; and it is alſo ſaid, that his Succeſſor *Nerva*, was not ſo Reſerved, but that he had from him all that he promiſed *Pollio*.

Having augmented each Soldier's, and conſequently each Officer's Pay, and expended prodigious Sums in Buildings, and in the divers Repreſentations of Games, he was reduced to that Extremity, that he leſſened the number of his Troops, and to maintain thoſe that he kept up, he was reſolved on a general Pillage. The *Jews* ſuffered much by the great Impoſts which he laid upon them; and if they only had had cauſe to complain of his Tyranny, it would at leaſt have had ſome bounds, but no Religion was able to defend it ſelf againſt it, and he diſturbed the Aſhes of the Dead to make an

Advantage

Advantage of them. When an Accuſer appeared, who affirmed againſt the Living, that they had ſpoken againſt the Prince, he generally Confiſcated their whole Eſtate; and if a falſe Witneſs declared, that he had heard the Dead ſay, *That* Cæſar *ſhould be their Heir*, he wanted no other Right or Pretence to uſurp the Inheritance.

From Extortion and Rapine, it was eaſy for him to paſs to Murther; and his Cruelty was more to be dreaded than his Avarice. He put to Death a Youth, who was Scholar to the Comedian *Paris*, though very ſick at the ſame time, becauſe he reſembled his Maſter; treated *Hermogenes* with the ſame Inhumanity, for uſing ſome Equivocal Expreſſions in his Hiſtory; and cauſed all the Bookſellers to be Hanged who had Tranſcribed it. *Herennius Senecio* and *Junius Ruſticus* loſt their Lives for praiſing *Pætus Thraſeas*, and *Helvidius Priſcus* the Father-in-law of *Thraſeas*; and his Fury went ſo far, that he burnt the Works of theſe two great Men. *Metius Pomponinus*, whom *Veſpaſian* had made Conſul, could not eſcape his Cruelty, becauſe the Star under which he was Born, was too Fortunate; becauſe he had given to ſome of his Servants the Names of *Mago* and *Hannibal*, who had been ſworn Enemies of the *Romans*; and becauſe he carried about him a Map of the World, and the Speeches of the Kings and Princes which are in *Livy*. He put to Death *Saluſtius Lucullus*, the General of the Forces in the Iſle of *Brittain*, becauſe he had given his own Name to the *Lances* which were of a new Invention; and not doubting but that *Helvidius*, the Son, had repreſented in a Song, the ſhameful Divorce which he had made from his Wife *Domitia Longina*, under the Names of *Oenone* and *Paris*, who abandoned this Miſtreſs for the fair *Helena*, he failed not to deſtroy him. From his natural inclination to Cruelty, he contracted ſo dangerous a habit of it, that he pardoned neither *Salvius Coccianus*, for daring to Celebrate the Birth-day of his Kinſman the Emperor *Otho*, nor *Flavius Sabinus* his Couſin-german, the Husband of *Julia Sabina*, becauſe when he was choſen Conſul, the publick Cryer by miſtake

miſtake had ſtiled him *Emperor* inſtead of *Conſul*. *Flavius Clemens* his other Couſin, whoſe two Children he had deſigned for his Succeſſors; *Ælius Lamia*, whoſe Wife he had Debauched, and ſeveral others who were Conſuls or Conſular Lieutenants, were Condemned for Trifles, for Suſpicions, or for Words of no Conſequence. But that which was no leſs Aſtoniſhing, nor leſs Horrible, was that none could put any Confidence in him, and that commonly he Flattered thoſe whom he deſigned to Deſtroy. Having reſolved to put a Treaſurer to Death, he took him into his Cloſet, conſtrained him in the moſt obliging manner to ſit upon the ſame Couch with himſelf, ſent him away the moſt ſatisfied Man in the World; commanded in the Evening, that he ſhould be enterrain'd with ſome Diſhes that had been ſerved upon his own Table, which was a very great Honour; and the Day following ordered him to be Hanged. That he might the more dextrouſly abuſe *Clemens Aretinus* his Counſellour and Confident in his moſt ſecret Enterprizes, he Careſſed him in an extraordinary manner, inſomuch, that having ſeated him by himſelf in his Litter, and ſhewn him his Accuſer, he asked him, *Whether he was not willing that they might hear this raſcally Slave on the Morrow?* And when *Aretinus* had conſented and believed himſelf ſecure, he left him, but ordered his Head to be cut off. When he was about to pronounce Sentence of Death, he commonly uſed this Preface, *That he proceeded in the Cauſe with all the Clemency and Mildneſs imaginable*; and theſe Words, which might have given ſome hopes to the moſt Criminal, had they not known his Perfidiouſneſs, were to the moſt Innocent a certain token of the Cruelty which was to follow upon theſe fair Promiſes. Vigorouſly to engage the Judges to Condemn ſome accuſed Perſons, before their Proceſs was Commenced, he ſaid openly, *I ſhall ſee to Day whether I am beloved in the Senate*; and the Judges who well knew what he required, ordered the Accuſed to be led Naked in the ſight of the People, and their Necks faſtned betwixt the Branches of a Fork to be whipped to Death with Rods. This

was

was a Sentence capable to pleaſe him; but as the Horror of the Puniſhment might at laſt encreaſe the Averſion they had for him, and fearing the Conſequences thereof, he relaxed a little. Being willing to ſhew how capable he was of Pity, he thought fit to ſay to the Judges, *You will not eaſily grant me the Requeſt I have to make you, but whatſoever happens, give me leave to beg for theſe Condemned Perſons, the choice of that kind of Death which ſhall be moſt eaſie for them, that you may not ſee at leaſt a Spectacle which will be troubleſome to you to behold, and that all may know that I am come into the Senate.* To ſay the truth of it, this was extraordinary Clemency for a Prince, who made Men be thrown to Dogs (*f*) to be eaten by them; who cauſed every Day ſome Senator to be Murthered; who commanded brave Men to have their Heads cut off, who had not followed his Party in the Wars, or who followed him unwillingly; others by a new Torture, unheard of till then, to be burnt in that part which he had offered to *Pollio*, and had lent to *Nerva*.

As his Careſſes and his Anger were both to be dreaded, and that he fell indifferently on Knights and Senators, on Strangers and Citizens, that neither one nor the other were permitted to complain of his Tyranny, becauſe all their Words, all their Sighs, and all their Tears were counted, his Servants who miſtruſted his Cruelty, were the firſt and the boldeſt to prevent him. *Domitia Longina* was of the Party, and through the fear ſhe was in of loſing *Paris*, ſhe Sacrificed her Husband to her Galant, or ſhe conſpired againſt his Life in hopes to ſave her own. It was not that *Domitian*, who was the moſt miſtruſtful Prince in the World, did not take care of himſelf, or was not perſwaded that his Stars threatned him with a Tragical End. The *Chaldæans*

(*f*) *De* Domitiani *crudelitate* Tacit. *in* Agricola. *c.* 45. Plin. *l.* 1. *Ep.* 5. *l.* 7. *Ep.* 19. Juven. *Sat.* 4. Euſeb. *n.* 2104. *and* 2109. Joh. Antiochen. *in Excerp. Pireſc. p.* 819. Sueton. *c.* 10. *and* 15. Philoſtrat. *l.* 7. *c.* 10. Dio. *l.* 67. Julian *in* Ceſaribus Cedren.

dæans had foretold him when he was Young, the Day, the Hour, and the manner of his Death; and when his Father obſerved that he eat not Muſhroons in a Soup, he began to Laugh, and admoniſhed him, *That it was not Muſhroons, but cold Iron which he ought to be afraid of.* How Ambitious ſoever he was, he refuſed for this reaſon, the Honour which the Senate would have done him, by Decreeing that every time that he ſhould be Conſul (and he was ſo Seventeen times) Knights with Lances in their Hands, cloathed in Robes enriched with Purple, ſhould march betwixt the Uſhers and the ordinary Archers of his Guard. He lined with a Tranſparent Stone all the Walls of the Galleries where he was wont to walk, that he might ſee what was done behind his Back; and it was alſo always in private, and ever alone that he examined Priſoners, whoſe Chains he failed not to hold. To ſhew that nothing is ever to be undertaken againſt the Life of Princes, he commanded *Epaphroditus*'s Head to be ſtruck off, becauſe he was ſuſpected to have lent his Hand to *Nero* when he killed himſelf; and he ſaid, *That the Condition of Princes is unfortunate, becauſe People will not believe that there is a Conſpiracy againſt their Lives until they are kill'd.*

Whilſt he diſtruſted every Body, and knew not how to arm againſt his Fate, a Thunderbolt fell upon the Palace of the *Flavij*, and upon his own Chamber, *&c.* And the Inſcription of his Triumphal Statue being taken off its Pedeſtal by a Whirlwind, was thrown upon a Tomb that was near it. Having underſtood that the Aſtrologer *Aſcletarion* had foretold the Hour of his Death, he asked him after what manner he himſelf was to dye; and he anſwered, *That Dogs would in a little time tare him to Pieces. Domitiam* to comfort himſelf ordered that he ſhould be put to Death, and that he ſhould be Buried, after he had been firſt Burned upon a Funeral Pile, which was overturned by a Tempeſt, and the Body of *Aſcletarion* fell from the top of the Pile to the Ground, where the Dogs tore him to pieces half Burnt. At this News he doubted no longer of his Misfortune, and the Day which preceeded that of his

his Death, having commanded that they ſhould keep certain Fruits for him for the Morrow, he added, *Provided I may be permitted to eat them*; and declared, *That on the next Day the Moon would be bloody in* Aquarius, *and that a Fact would be perpetrated, that all the whole World would talk of.* Being laid in his Bed he ſprung out all on a ſudden, frighted with a Dream; for he had dreamt that he was mounted on a Black Horſe, which in a Moment carried him from the ſight of Men, and threw him headlong into an Abyſs. He ſaw in the Morning a Soothſayer, and becauſe he demanded his Opinion concerning a Thunderbolt which had faln, and he had anſwered, that this fall ſignified without doubt ſome Change, he commanded him to be put to Death. As he touched a Wart which he had on his Forehead, and perceived that it bled, *I pray God*, ſaid he, *that I bleed no more than this!* And asking what a Clock it was, they anſwered him, *That it was Six*, although in truth it was but Five; and it was this Hour which had ſo often made him Tremble. He believed then that his danger was paſſed; and as he haſtned to go to the Baths, *Partheneus* his Chamberlain, who had managed the Conſpiracy, gave him notice, that there was a Perſon to ſpeak with him about a great Affair, and adviſed him to hear him; at the ſame time he went alone into his Cloſet, whither followed him *Petronius Stephanus*, *Domitia*'s Receiver, accuſed of not having diſcharged his Office well, who had offered himſelf to execute this Deſign, and who that he might give no ſuſpition, and it might be believed that he was indiſpoſed, had bound up his left Arm with ſeveral Bands covered with Wool. When the Receiver had preſented a certain Paper to him, which he read with great Application and Aſtoniſhment, he ſtab'd him with his Sword, in that part which Eunuchs want; and the Emperor finding himſelf Wounded, fell upon him, threw him on the Ground, and did what he was able to wreſt the Sword out of his Hands, notwithſtanding all his Fingers were already cut. But *Clodiarus* who commanded the firſt Company of a Legion, *Maximus* a Free-man of *Partheniu*s,

thenius Saturius who was over the Emperor's Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, and a Fencing Maſter, who ſoon came in to the Aſſiſtance of *Stephanus*, giving *Domitian* ſeven Stabs, killed him the 18th of *September*, *A. M.* 4067. *A. D.* 97.

Procopius in his *Secret Hiſtory* ſaith, "That *Domitia* "never approved of the Tyranny of *Domitian*: That "ſhe gained for this reaſon the Love and Eſteem of "the Senators, who after the Death of her Husband, "deſired her to go to the Senate, where they offered "to give her what ſhe deſired of the Emperor's Eſtate. "This Princeſs was ſo Generous, that ſhe only deſired "the liberty to Bury him, and to erect a Statue of "Braſs to him in what place ſhe pleaſed; and when "the Senate had granted her this Requeſt, ſhe com-"manded diligent ſearch to be made for all the parts "of his Body, which had been torn in pieces, cauſed "them to be ſown together again very dextrouſly, and "gave the Body to the Statuaries, to be repreſented "in this ſad Condition." He adds, "That ſhe cauſed "this Statue to be ſet up in the aſcent to the Capitol, "that thoſe who go up to the *Forum* might judge of "the Cruelty that they had committed: That it was "alſo in the ſame place when he wrote this Paſſage: "That nothing could better repreſent the Features of "*Domitian* and his Misfortune." But this Paſſage may perhaps be ranked amongſt ſeveral others, which this Author hath too eaſily believed, and which no judicious Perſons believe after him, as when he ſaith, *That the Aſhes of* Veſuvius *when it opened, were carried as far as* Conſtantinople; *and that a ſingle Soldier put to flight the whole Army of the* Goths. Had this Statue been viſible the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times were not Blind; and they would have given us ſome notice of it. They would have ſpoken of this great and noble Action of *Domitia Longina*; and if the Senate, as he ſaith, Decreed the Memory of this Emperor ſhould be Eternally Aboliſhed, how could they give *Domitia* leave to Perpetuate it by ſuch a Statue? *Joſephus*'s Teſtimony, who in the Hiſtory of his own Life, praiſeth the Generoſity of this Princeſs can, conclude nothing for

this Action, becauſe there have been in all Ages Generous and Liberal Ladies. Other Hiſtorians agree that ſhe was in the Conſpiracy, and it was as much as her Life was worth not to have been in it. She might well remember that *Nero* had been the Murtherer of his two Wives, although *Octavia* was a moſt Vertuous Princeſs, and *Sabina Poppæa* had incurred his Diſpleaſure only by her high Spirit. *Longina* knew that all the World were acquainted with her Scandalous Converſation with *Paris*, and might well believe, that the great Paſſion which ſhe had for him would in the end deſtroy both her ſelf and her Gallant, whenever *Domitian* ſhould have but the leaſt notice of it, who was another *Nero* in Cruelty, and was alſo Surnamed, (*g*) *Nero the Bald.*

His Death which was lamented by the Soldiers, was little reguarded by the People. But the Senate were ſo rejoyced at it, that after they had given publick Marks of their Joy, they Decreed that his Bucklers ſhould be taken down before all the People, that his Images ſhould be broken down, his Inſcriptions razed, and that his Memory ſhould be aboliſhed. They whoſe Office was to carry out the Dead, carried his Body in ſuch a Coffin as the pooreſt People are put in; and *Phyllis* who had Nurſed him, had burnt it in a Houſe which ſhe had out of the City; ſhe ſtole into the Temple of the *Flavij*, where ſhe mingled his Aſhes with thoſe of *Julia Sabina* whoſe Nurſe ſhe had alſo been; and whom this Tyrant had loved leſs, if his Love had not been a Crime.

CHAP.

(*g*) Tertullian. *De* Pallio *vocat eum Subneronem, et in Apologetic. Portionem Neronis. Videatur* Salmaſ. *ad* Tertullian.

CHAP. XVI.

Chronological Remarks on the Eccleſiaſtical and Prophane Hiſtory.

JUlius *Cæſar* dyed, as I have obſerved already, *Anno Mundi* 3928; in the 1ſt Year of the 184th *Olympiad*; 1435 Years after the Death of *Moſes*; 486 Years after that of *Cyrus*; 293 after the Death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*; 280 after *Alexander*'s; 709 after the Building of *Rome*; 672 after the Death of *Romulus*; and 43 Years before the Birth of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*.

The Emperor *Julian* hath reproached him with his Ambition and his Bald Head. If it is a conſiderable fault to be Bald, it was at leaſt in common to him with *Hercules*; and it is better to be Bald than to be an Apoſtate. As for his Ambition, it muſt be acknowledged that it was great; and it is very difficult for one that hath Courage to be without it. It may however in ſome ſort be juſtified againſt thoſe Hiſtorians, who have written that it was this that moved him to take Arms againſt his Country. They all confeſs that he ſought Peace, that he demanded it, without obtaining it; and that it ceaſed to be a Common-wealth before *Pompey*'s Defeat. It was, to ſpeak properly, a State to which they had left the Name of a Common-wealth; and if we will examine well the (*a*) Inſolence and the inſupportable Pride of the Conſuls and Proconſuls, the Deſign and the Cruelty of his Murtherers,

(*a*) *Si ij viciſſent ad quos acceſſeram et iratorum hominum, et cupidorum, et inſolentium, quam crudelis eſſet futura victoria*, Cic. Epiſt. 14. l. 4. *In Bello repaces, in oratione ita crudeles ut ipſam victoriam horrerem*, l. 7. Ep. 3. *Vidi noſtros amicos cupere bellum*, l. 9. Ep. 4.

therers, and compare both with *Cæſar*, we ſhall find that they were all more Ambitious than he. After this Emperor's Death, *Cicero* who ſaw to what Extremity *Rome* was reduced, wrote pleaſantly enough to *Trebonius*, (b) *Nothing certainly ſhould have remained of your Supper of the* Ides *of* March, *if you had done me the Favour to have invited me to it; and they are your Reliques which exerciſe me at this Day.* This Oratour would obſerve thereby, that ſince they had reſolved to kill *Cæſar*, they ought alſo to have deſtroyed *Lepidus*, *Anthony* and *Octavius*, whom he means by *the Reliques of the* Ides *of* March. But it is *Cicero*'s Character, that he accommodated himſelf to all times; was in Danger fearful and unreſolved, and a Bragadocio when he had nothing to fear. Had he been one of the Gueſts, they had perhaps never ſeen this Bloody Feaſt, notwithſtanding he hath ſomewhat eſteemed this Stroak as a great Providence. Suppoſe alſo, that he had had as much Courage, as he had Wit and Vanity; that he had aſſiſted the (c) Conſpirators with his Hand and his Counſel; What Authority had they over the Life of a Man whom they ſtiled *their God and their Jupiter?* Who was in ſo great Eſteem for the Services he had done, that when the Magiſtrates entred on their Offices, they ſwore inviolably to obſerve all the Ordinances which he had made, and which he ſhould make? Whom the Senate and the People found to be ſo Juſt and Bountiful, that they declared, that they who ſhould dare offend him by their Words or their Actions, ſhould be held for Sacrilegious and Impious Perſons. So *Dio* calls *Brutus Caſſius*, and all the reſt of their Faction *Furious and Enraged Men. This is*, ſaith *Xiphilinus*, *the Sentiment of* Dio; *but a Senator and a Man of Quality, who compoſed a fine Hiſtory, could not ſpeak otherwiſe. It is moſt certain, as* Plutarch *hath obſerved in his* Parallels,

(b) *Cicer.* l. 10. Ep. 28. l. 11. Ep. 4.

(c) *Vid.* Hubert Goltzium *in vita et rebus geſtis C.* Jul. Cæſaris, p. 145.

lels, *that they did not engage in this Enterprise until they had well examined it: That their aim was by this bold stroke to deliver themselves, and all the Citizens, from the Slavery under which they were, as there is no reason to doubt.* This is a fair Indication of the Judgment and Piety of the Patriarch *Xiphilinus* or his Nephew; as if a Man of Quality never called things by their Names, and a Senator ought to approve that which was done without the Consent of the Senate. As if it were less Criminal because they were confirmed in their Resolution to execute their Design: Or it were permitted to Subjects to Assassinate their Superiors, that they might set themselves free. On the contrary, the Common-wealth was no other than a Ship beaten upon by Winds and Waves, which could not but be lost through the Multitude of Persons who strove each of them to Govern it according to their Caprice, or their Interest; and would certainly be saved if one good Pilot took the sole Government of it into his Hands. This is what *Cæsar* undertook when the Conspirators envying his Reputation and his Grandeur, Assassinated him without foreseeing or fearing the Consequences thereof. Which were such, that they all perished by a violent Death, without doing the least Service to their Country; whereof they pretended to be the Protectors; and the *Romans* after this Murther had Masters who treated them as Slaves. To conclude, a Learned Man who bore this Emperor's Name could not better express the Admiration which he had for him, than by saying; *That he should never have believed that he had been a Man had he not died.* I cannot say that this Thought of *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* is very just; but to speak naturally, one should have had some reason to take for *Divine*, a Man which is not subject to Death, which is inevitable to the rest of Mankind.

They are his own Actions which *Cæsar* hath written in his Commentary. The 8th Book is not his, but

(*d*) Julius Cæsar Scaliger *in Consulatione Fabulæ Burdonianæ sub finem.*

Hirtius's, who also wrote Commentaries of the War of *Alexandria*, of *Africk*, and of *Spain*, which are to be found with *Cæsar*'s of the Wars of the *Gauls*. Some have attributed the Commentaries of the Wars of *Alexandria*, *Africk*, and *Spain* to *Oppius*, a Friend of *Cæsar*'s.

Asinius Pollio in *Suetonius*, blames him for want of Exactness; for having had false Memoirs; for having been a little too Credulous in his History. *Cicero* saith, *That his Commentaries have not all the Ornament that he was able to give them; but are such as no Man hitherto hath been so rash as to go about to add to them what they want.* His manner of Writting is Elegant, Lively, Pure and Intelligible.

Whereas *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* speaking of *Julius Cæsar*, it is credible that he was not so old as he and some will have it, that he lived under this Dictator and *Augustus*. He must at least have lived to a great Age, according to *Scaliger*'s Remark on *Eusebius*. *Argyrium*, now *San Filippo d' Argyrone*, was the City of his Birth, and he spent Thirty Years in his History, as he says himself in the beginning, which is a Preface to his Book. That he might be more exact in *Geography* he Travell'd over most of the Countries of *Europe* and *Asia*, and also into *Egypt*, in the Reign of *Ptolomy*, Surnamed *Dionysius* or the *New Bacchus*, who married his Sister *Cleopatra*. He gave his History the Title of a *Universal Library*, and united in one Body what lay scattered in the several Writings of other Men. He hath comprized in Forty Books all the Occurrences of the World for the space of Eleven hundred thirty eight Years, without reckoning what is contain'd in the six first Books of the Fabulous Times, *i. e.* all that preceded the War of *Troy*. His Stile is between the Sublime and the Humble; and *Pliny* gives him this Testimony, *That he was the first that forbore to write Trifles.*

Under

Under AUGUSTUS.

HE was Born 1960 Years after *Abraham*, 1800 after *Jacob*, 707 after *Romulus*, 293 after *Alexander*, 44 after *Cicero*, 43 after *Pompey*, 37 after *Julius Cæsar*, 62 Years before our Saviour *Jesus Christ*.

Anno Mundi 3930 *Anthony* and *Octavius* defeated *Brutus* and *Cassius* in a Battel, and reduced them to so great Extremity, that *Cassius* caused a Freed-man to cut off his Head, and *Brutus* in despair killed himself. *Porcia*, *Brutus*'s Wife having Intelligence of her Husband's Death, and perceiving the People who watched her, had deprived her of all means whereby she might kill her self, took burning Embers from the Fire, and having thrown them into her Mouth, shut it so close that she was suffocated therewith.

The Tempers of these two *Romans* were every way opposite; for *Cassius* who had married *Junia*, *Brutus*'s Sister, was Violent, Passionate, Impatient, and a secret Enemy to *Cæsar*. But *Brutus* was naturally Sweet, Sincere, Grave, and always governed himself by Reason. Notwithstanding he who knew no other Good but Virtue, engaged in his Brother-in-laws hatred of the Dictator, under the specious pretence of ridding the Common-wealth of its greatest Tyrant; and herein his Ingratitude is never to be Justified. After the Battel of *Pharsalia Brutus* wrote from the City of *Larissa* to *Julius Cæsar*, who sent for him to come to him; and he not only pardoned him, for engaging on *Pompey*'s side; but was also willing upon his Request to receive *Cassius* to Favour. When he undertook his Expedition into *Africk* against *Cato* and *Scipio*, he gave the Government of the *Cisalpine Gaul*, to *Brutus*, preferr'd him before *Cassius* to the Government of the City, and particularly honour'd him with his Esteem and Kindness. He gave Orders to his Officers at the Battel of *Philippi*, either to spare him if he fought, or to facilitate his escape

if he design'd to fly. Add hereto that *Julius Cæsar* when he was very young had great Familiarity with *Servilia* the Mother of *Brutus*, Born in the time of their Passion; that he look't on him as his Son, and he was the Murtherer of his Father, if the Conjecture of the latter was well grounded.

Herod and his *Phaselus* were made Tetrarchs of *Judæa* by *Anthony*; and *Fulvia*, who was Wife to the latter, and who pierced *Cicero*'s Tongue after his Death, dyed in the Year 3932 at *Sicyone*.

Herod, aged Forty Years, was Crowned at *Rome* King of *Judæa*.

Anno Mundi 3934, *Pacorus* King of the *Parthians* was slain by *Ventidius*, the same Day that *Crassus*, Fifteen Years before, had been slain by this People, commanded by the *Surena* or Lieutenant General of *Horsdoz*. The Marriage of *Augustus* and *Livia* were Solemnized.

Herod took *Jerusalem A. M.* 3935. The Year following dyed the Historian *Crispus Salustius*, aged Fifty Years.

Ennius wrote Eighteen Books of Annals in Heroick Verse; and *Nævius* composed the first *Carthaginian* War in other Verse. *Fabius Pictor* was the first of all the *Romans* who undertook to write a History in *Latin* Prose. *Posthumius Albinus*, *Cussius Hemina*, *Cato*, *Sempronius*, *Valerius Antias*, and *Quadrigarius* followed him, but as we have nothing of their Histories, we may put *Salust*, who lived in the time of *Julius Cæsar* in the first Rank, and who dyed, according to some Authors, Seven Years after this Emperor was Murthered.

He began his Principal History with the Foundation of *Rome*; but we have nothing but Fragments of it. *Catiline*'s Conspiracy, and the War which the *Romans* waged with *Jugurtha*, are the only Pieces of this Author which have come to our Hands. Although his Stile is concise and short, he is yet large enough with respect to the things that he treats of, and some of which might be retrenched without any prejudice to his

Design

Deſign or his Hiſtory. He is Elegant, Florid, and even beyond what Hiſtory requires, as ſome think. Strangers have had a great Eſteem for him; and his own Countrymen valued him ſo much as to equal him to *Thucidides*, whom he took for his Model, according to *Quintilian*, and even excell'd him in his conciſe way of Writing, in the opinion of *Seneca*, in one of his Declamations.

We have ſcarce any Hiſtorian who hath ſpoken better for Virtue, nor with greater force againſt Vice than *Saluſt*. Notwithſtanding the Cenſors expell'd him the Senate for his Debaucheries; and he was fined and ſentenced to be Whipt, according to *Aulus Gellius*, for having been taken in Adultery by *Milo*. *Cæſar* afterwards reſtored him to his Dignity of Senator, and procured for him that of Prætor, and having ſent him into *Numidia*, gave him opportunity to enrich himſelf; for in his Father's Life time he had ſpent his Patrimony, by his Prodigality and Debauchery. This *African* Voyage was ſo Advantageous to him, and he raiſed ſuch a Fortune there, that he Purchaſed one of the fineſt Houſes in *Rome*, and another at *Tibur*, or *Tivoli*. His Hiſtory, which he was mightily ſet upon, gave him the Curioſity to Sail once one purpoſe into *Africk*, to view the Places there, which he would deſcribe, and where he alſo collected many Books written in the *Punick* Language, which he got Interpreted, that he might make uſe of them in his Work. *Lipſius* and *Turnebius* amongſt the Moderns, have had him in ſo great Eſteem, that the former finds nothing more Commendable in *Tacitus*, than that he hath imitated *Saluſt* well; and the other ſaith, that he came nearer the Eloquence of *Demoſthenes* than *Cicero*. *Saluſt* was Fifty Years old when he dyed.

Dioſcorides dyes.

In 3937. *Herod* by an Artifice cauſed *Ariſtobulus*, Brother to his Wife *Mariamne*, to be Drowned, who though he was but Eighteen Years old had been made High-Prieſt the Year before.

In

In 3940. *Anthony* was declared by the Senate an Enemy of the *Roman* People. *Herod* who had abandon'd him, after the Defeat of his Fleet by *Octavius*, put to Death *Hyrcanus* the High-Prieſt of the *Jews*, aged Twenty four Years in 3942. Twenty Years before the Birth of Chriſt.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus went to *Rome* about the ſame time. He wrote Twenty Books of the *Roman Antiquities*; of which the Eleven firſt only remain, which end with the Conſuls reſuming their Supreme Authority, after the Government of the *Decemviri*, which was in the 312th Year of *Rome*. This Work contained all the remarkable Occurrences from the taking of *Troy* to the end of the firſt *Punick* War, and ended where *Polybius* began. He was of *Halicarnaſſus*, as we may learn from *Strabo*, who in the 14th Book of his Geography, ſaith, *That the City of* Halicarnaſſus *hath given two Men of great Merit*, Herodotus, *and in our time* Dionyſius *of* Halicarnaſſus *the Hiſtorian. Strabo* then lived under *Auguſtus* and under *Tiberius*.

His Stile according to *Photius* is extraordinary and new; but he hath a Simplicity which is agreeable. He was a great Rhetorician, a great Critick; and he was ſo much eſteemed by thoſe of his own time, that *Pompey* earneſtly deſired him to give him the Judgment he made of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, eſpecially of *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*.

Cicero's Son was made Conſul in *September*.

In 3943 He put *Mariamne* to Death.

Cornelius Gallus, whoſe Death *Virgil* laments in the 10th of his Eclogues, kill'd himſelf in 3946, and *Virgil* being Fifty one or Fifty two Years old dyed the Twenty ſecond of *September*, at *Brindiſi*, a City of *Calabria*, in 3954.

Marcus Vipſanius Agrippa dyed after his return from *Syria* in 3960; and in 3963 the City of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine* was built or renewed by *Herod*, in favour of *Auguſtus*.

Mecænas dyed in 3964.

Horace

Horace the ſame Year, aged 67. He was born in 3907, the 8th of *December*, in the 688th Year of *Rome*.

Auguſtus, *Anno* 3966, Baniſhed his Daughter *Julia*, the Wife of *Tiberius*, for her Infamous Life.

The Angel *Gabriel*, *Anno* 3969, appeared to *Zachariah* to make known to him the Birth of *John* the Baptiſt; and the ſame Angel the Year following made known to the Bleſſed Virgin the Incarnation of the *Meſſiah*, when *Elizabeth* was Six Months gone with Child.

The Birth of the Virgin *Mary* hath been placed by ſome on the 8th of *September* *Anno* 3940, by others *Anno* 3952, and there are Authors who ſay, that ſhe lived Fifty eight (*e*) Years; others Fifty nine, Sixty three, and Seventy two.

The Incarnation of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath been fixed by ſome on the 25th of *March A. M.* 3955; his *Birth* (*f*) on the 25th of *December*; his *Baptiſm* Thirty Years after, on the 11th of *January*; his *Life* Thirty three Years and three Months; his *Death* on the 29th of *March*; his *Reſurrection* on the 1ſt of *April*, according to the Computation of the *Egyptians*, and his *Aſcention* on the 3d of *May*. All who have read *Tertullian*, St. *Hippolytus* Biſhop and Martyr, *Euſebius*, *Sulplicius Severus*, *Gregory* of *Tours*, *Victor* of *Capua*, the Eccleſiaſtical Authors, the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, are able to judge how this matter is perplexed by the difference of their Opinions. We need only read *Henry Bunting*, *Joſeph Scaliger*, *Petavius*, *Riccioli*, *Langius*, *Ivendelin*, *Herwart*, *Strauchius*, and the moſt famous Chronologers, to confeſs, that as to the Years of the World there is nothing more uncertain than what they call *Infallible Reaſons*, *Convincing Proofs*, and *Faithful Aſtronomical Computations*. I am of the Opinion

(*e*) *Vid. Herwart Chronol.* §. 246.

(*f*) Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr. in Evargel. Mathei*, *v.* 1.

Opinion of thoſe who believe, that our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* was Born in the 3970th Year of the World, when *Cyrenius*, *Quirinius*, or as ſome call him, *Publius Sulpitius Quirinius* was in *Syria*, in the quality of Governor or Receiver of the Taxes; and you may conſult the Obſervations of *Beza*, *Grotius*, *Spanheim*, *Sculte-tus*, and the Learned Men of both ſides, upon the firſt and ſecond Verſes of the ſecond Chapter of St. *Luke*. As for the Month and Day of our Saviour's Birth, which have been fixed by the Church on the 25th of *December*, ſome Chronologers do not allow the Computation Infallible; and he that ſhall examine well their Opinions, will, it may be, acknowledge, that this happy Day for our Salvation is as unknown as the terrible Day of his Judgment; beſides, the Day of his Birth, which ſo ever it be, is no where marked in Scripture. I ſhall generally compute the order of the Years of our Lord from the Day of his *Circumciſion*, which was the eighth after his *Birth*, as it is obſerved by the Church; and the Years of the World from the time of the *Annunciation* of the Bleſſed Virgin, which was in *A. M.* 3970. the 25th of *March*, although the Moment of it be uncertain, as may be ſeen in moſt Commentators on the 31ſt Verſe of the 1ſt Chapter of St. *Luke*. However *Henry Bunting* after his Aſtronomical Computations, and upon conſiderable Teſtimonies affirms, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was conceived in the Chaſt Womb of the Holy Virgin, *Wedneſday* the 25th of *March*, in the 3967th Year of the World. That he was Born the 25th of *December*, in the 42d Year of the Reign of *Auguſtus*. That he dyed on the 3d of *April A. M.* 4000. In this Year he finds the end of *Daniel's* Seventy Weeks, which he begins from the Year 3510, which is the 7th of the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, ſurnamed *Longhand*; you may ſee his Reaſons or Conjectures.

Herod Maſſacred the Infants of *Bethlehem Anno Mundi* 3971. Kill'd his own Son *Antipater* in 3973, and five Days after dyed of a deſperate Diſeaſe, as may be ſeen in the 21ſt Chapter of the firſt Book of *Joſe-phus*

phus's Hiſtory of the Wars of the *Jews* againſt the *Romans*.

Auguſtus, *Anno Mundi* 3975, Adopted *Tiberius*.

Quintilius Varus was defeated, *Anno Mundi* 3980, with three Legions, and all the Auxiliary Troops by *Herman*, (*g*) of whom the *Latins* have made their *Arminius* Prince of the *Cheruſci*, who inhabited *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, as *Cluverius* ſaith, or according to others the Countries where at this Day are *Thuringe* and *Vogitland*.

Tiberius, *Anno Mundi* 3983, Triumphed the 10th of *July* over the *Illyrians*, the *Pannonians*, the *Dalmatians*, and the *Germans*.

Auguſtus, who had made his Will *Anno Mundi* 3984, the 3d of *April*, at the Age of 75 Years, Dyed *Anno Mundi* 3985, *Anno Domini* 15; the 766th after the Building of *Rome*, the 2d of the 198th Olympiad. This Emperor had a great Eſteem for (*h*) *Nicholas* of *Damaſcus*, which *Herod* alſo had.

Under TIBERIUS.

Germanicus, Son of *Druſus*, who joyned the *Rhine* to the *Zuiderzee* by a Canal, which he cauſed to be cut, Triumphed over the *Cheruſci*, the *Chatti*, the *Angrivarij*, *A. M.* 3988. *A. D.* 18. and thirteen Cities of *Aſia* were overturned in one Night by an Earthquake.

Anno

(*g*) *De voce Herman Grot. Hiſt. Got. Vandal. et Langobard*, p. 588. *De loco vid.* Monumenta *Pedaherbornentia*.

(*h*) *Nicolaum Damaſum tanto amore complexus eſt* Auguſtus Cæſar, *ut miſſus ab eo ad ſe placentas* Nicolaos *vocaret, quæ in hunc uſque durat appellatis. Heſych. de viris Illuſt. ad quem videatur Meurſius Exercit. parte* II. *cap.* 13.

Anno Mundi 3989 *Titus Livius* the Hiſtorian dyed at (*i*) *Padoua*, Aged 76 Years; and the *Patavinity* with which *Aſinius Pollio* reproached him, is quite another thing than what it hath been ſuppoſed, and doth not at all concern his Stile. The *Padouans* had always preſerved a natural Inclination for the Common-wealth, and muſt conſequently be Friends to *Pompey*; *Pollio*, who was of the oppoſite Party, namely of *Cæſar*'s and *Anthony*'s, reproached *Livy* that was of the ſame Opinion with the *Padouans*, that in his Hiſtory he diſcovered more Paſſion for *Pompey* than for *Cæſar* and *Anthony*; and this is what he calls *Patavinity*, as I am perſwaded I have proved in one of my Critical Letters to Monſieur *Le Feure*.

Titus Livius wrote on ſeveral Subjects, but the moſt conſiderable of his Works is his Hiſtory, which began with the Foundation of *Rome*, and extended to *Druſus*'s Death in *Germany*. Of the 140 or 42 Books which it contain'd, there are now extant but 35, which do not all immediately ſucceed in order, for the 2d Decad is entirely wanting, and we have no more than the 1ſt the 3d and the 4th, with a part of the 5th, which was found at *Wormes*, in the Memory of our Fathers, by *Simon Gryneus*. Inſtead of the remainder of the 14 Decads we muſt content our ſelves with the Abridgement of the *Roman* Hiſtory written by *Florus*. The Friendſhip with which *Auguſtus* honour'd him, gave him good Opportunities for writing his Hiſtory, of which he compoſed one part at *Rome*, and the other at *Naples*. In the beginning of it there are many Fables, and it is eaſie to obſerve in the ſequel, that he was a great Enemy to the *Gauls*.

Ovid dyed at *Tomos*, which *Dominicus Niger* takes for *Conſtantia*; *Calcagninus*, for *Temeſwar*; *Ciofanius*, for

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(*i*) Titus Livius *eloquentiæ ac fidei præclarus, imprimis Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut* Pompeianum *cum* Auguſtus *appellaret. Tac. Annal. l.* 4. *c.* 34. *Thomaſinus in Titi Livij vitâ.*

for *Kijow*, becauſe there is alſo a Lake in that Place named *Ovideve-Jezero*, that is to ſay, *Ovid's Lake*. Others ſay that he dyed at *Sabaria*, where the two Rivers *Guntz* and *Regnitz* meet, before they enter into the *Rab* or *Arabo*, which hath its Head in *Styria*, and runs into the *Danube*. He was 60 Years old when he dyed, according to *Euſebius*; and if he was born the 20th of *March A. M.* 3929, his Account is right; but it is not altogether exact if he was but 50 Years 7 Months and 21 Days old when he left *Rome* by the Command of *Auguſtus*, as he teſtifies in the 3d Elegy of his 1. *Lib. de Triſtibus*; and if he dyed 7 Years after his Exile.

Piſo, who had poyſoned *Germanicus* the Father of *Caligula*, *A. M.* 3990, killed himſelf the Year following.

A. M. 3994 *Sejanus* rid himſelf of *Druſus* the Son of *Tiberius* by Poyſon; and *Pliny* was born *A. M.* 3996.

Our Lord was Baptized by St. *John* in *Jordan A. D.* 30, and after having been tempted in the Deſert, where he continued 40 Days, and returned from that River, he made himſelf known by preaching the Goſpel, and by confirming his Doctrine by Miracles.

On (*k*) that Paſſage of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, John *was cloathed in Camels Hair, had a Leathern Girdle about his Loyns, and his Food was Locuſts and wild Honey*. I cannot forbear ſaying, that moſt of the Painters ridiculouſly repreſent St. *John* Baptiſt with a Skin upon him with the Hair outwards, ſince it is not ſaid, that he was covered with a Skin, but with Camels Hair. It is certain that the ſtuff with which St. *John* Baptiſt was clothed was not made of the ſofteſt and fineſt Hair, which the *Hebrews* call the Wool or Flower of Kids, or of Goats, but of the courſeſt and roughеſt, which was

(*k*) *Guelperius*, *Druſius*, *Corn. a Lapide ad Mat. Caſaub. Exercit.* 13. *Num.* 11. *ad Baronii Ann. Montacut. Orig. Eccles. parte poſt* p. 376. *Bochart Hiroloic. parte poſter.* l. 4. c. 7. *Braunius de Veſtitu Hebreorum* l. *pr.* c. 9, &c.

was ordinarily worn by the Mountainers, and the poor People of *Judæa*. It was the *Cilicium* (*l*) or *Hair-Cloth* that is ſo often mention'd in Scripture, and in the Lives of the firſt Chriſtians.

But it is yet more ſtrange that St. *Iſidore* of *Peluſium* ſhould take them for ignorant Perſons who believe that St. *John* Baptiſt lived on Locuſts. He would have it to be the tops or extremities of Herbs and Trees; and he turns the Greek Word to an improper and unnatural Senſe. Had he never heard any mention of the *Eaſtern* People, whom *Diodorus* calls *Acridophagi*, becauſe they feed on Locuſts. The (*m*) *Æthiopians*, *Ægyptians*, *Indians*, *Parthians*, *Nazamones*, *Arabians*, *Moors* and *Africans* feed on them at this Day, after they have ſalted and ſmoked or boiled them, or dried them in the Sun. *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Dioſcorides*, *Plutarch*, *Leo* of *Africa*, *Hermolaus*, *Barbarus*, *Ludolphus*, and moſt of our Travellers expreſsly aſſure us of it. Something of this may be ſeen in *Ariſtophanes*, *Theophylact*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, St. *Hilary*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Ambroſe*, and St. *Auſtin* have made no doubt but that St. *John* lived on Locuſts. The *Jews* were alſo permitted to eat of four kinds of them; but that wherein St. *John* was wonderful, was *that he lived only on Locuſts and wild Honey*. By the *Deſart* where he Preached we muſt not underſtand Mountains, nor an uninhabited Place, but generally all the Villages where the poor People dwelt, who had not means to live at *Jeruſalem*.

(*l*) *De* Cilicio *Dan. Heinſius Exercit. Sacr.* p. 766. *Voſſius. Etymol. in* Cilicia, *Martinij Lexicon Etymol. in* Cilix.

(*m*) P. *Mocracci* Procurator of the Province of *Goa*, in his Relation of the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſaith, That the Inhabitants of *Minotapa* dry Locuſts with Fire, or in the Sun, and after they have ground them, they make Bread of them, which is more agreeable to their Palats than Wheat Bread is to ours. See *Heinſius* in his *Exercitat. Sacr.* c. 3. p. 19, &c.

Jeruſalem. By *wild Honey Rambain* would underſtand *the Hony of Palms.*

Livia the Wife of *Auguſtus* dyed this Year, aged 86 Years, and *A. D.* 32, on the 26th of *October Sejanus* was cut in pieces by the Executioner.

A. M. 4004, our Bleſſed Saviour was Crucified, 3074 Years after the Death of *Adam*, 1511 after that of *Moſes*, 2348 after the Deluge.

The Acts of the Apoſtles, written by St. *Luke*, containing 28 Chapters, about 26 Years from the Aſcention of our Lord, unto the 59th of his Birth, which is the 4th of *Nero*'s Reign.

The ſame Year, that is to ſay the 31ſt of our Lord, St. *Matthias* was choſen in the place of *Judas*, and the Year following was that of the Martyrdom of St. *Stephen*, and of the Converſion of St. *Paul*. *Philip* the *Tetrarch*, Son of *Herod*, dyed without Children, and *Joſephus* teſtifies that he was Wiſe and Moderate.

Velleius Paterculus lived in the Reign of *Tiberius*, whoſe Freed-man he was.

One might believe that he deſign'd to write only an Abridgement of the *Roman* Hiſtory, from the Foundation of *Rome* unto the Times in which he lived. But whereas we want the beginning of his firſt Book, and in that part which remains of it there are found Cities more Antient than that of *Rome*, and of which yet he doth not ſpeak, till after he had mention'd the Original of others, we may gueſs that his Work began higher than the Original of *Rome*. His Stile is Elegant and worthy of the Age in which he lived. However ſome accuſe him, and it may be with reaſon, that he Flatter'd, even to Baſeneſs, the Party and Family of *Auguſtus*; that he was exceſſive in his Praiſes of *Tiberius*, and this Emperor's Favorite *Sejanus*; and that by theſe motives he never ſpake the Truth, but diſguiſed every thing to the advantage of *Tiberius*.

Under CALIGULA.

A. M. 4008, *A. D.* 38, *Agrippa* the eldeſt Son of *Ariſtobulus* was taken out of Priſon, whither *Tiberius* ſix Months before had committed him, and ordered him to be put in Irons; and *Caligula* gave him the Kingdom of *Judæa*.

The Diſciples and Faithful were called *Chriſtians*, as may be ſeen *Acts* 11. *v.* 26. and the Church of *Antioch* in *Syria* was Founded by St. *Peter*.

Joſephus the Hiſtorian was Born *A. M.* 4009, *A. D.* 39; and in the 40th *Herod Antipas*, who had beheaded St. *John* the Baptiſt, was baniſhed to *Lyons* with his Wife *Herodias*, when *Caligula* had been informed by *Agrippa* of the Correſpondence and Friendſhip which *Antipas* maintained with *Artabazus* King of the *Parthians*.

Philo the *Jew*, who was of *Hiſpalis* or *Seville* in *Andaluſia*, hath been ranked by (*n*) St. *Jerom* and Cardinal *Bellarmine* amongſt Eccleſiaſtical Authors. He flouriſhed in the Reign of this Emperor, and becauſe he lived at *Alexandria* they took him for an *Alexandrian*, on which I cannot rely.

Under CLAUDIUS.

HE was born at *Lyons* the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, which was then called *Sextilis*, or the *Sixth*, becauſe they began to reckon their Year with the Month of *Mars*; and it was not until three Years after the Birth of *Claudius*,

(*n*) *Hiron. Catalog. Scriptorum in Philone, Bellarmin. de Scriptor. Eccleſioſt. Middendorpius, de Acad.* l. 11. *de Alexandro.*

dius, that in Honour of *Auguſtus* the Name of *Sextilis* was changed into that of *Auguſtus*, whence our *Auguſt* is derived.

A. M. 4014, *A. D.* 44, St. *Peter* was delivered by an Angel out of the Priſon where he had been put by *Agrippa* (*o*) the Great or the Elder, Son of *Ariſtobulus*; and this ſame *Agrippa*, who had the Year before Beheaded *James* Brother of *John*, the Son of *Zebedee*; was eaten by Worms, or dyed according to *Joſephus* and ſome others of the tormenting Pains of the Colick, at the Age of 54 Years, after he had Reigned 7, 4 under *Caligula*, and 3 under *Claudius*. He left a Son behind him who was alſo named *Agrippa*, and three Daughters *Berenice*, *Mariane* and *Druſilla*.

Evodius was conſtituted the firſt Biſhop of the Church of *Antioch*; but whereas in this Church the *Nazarens* pretended, that Men were not ſaved by Faith only, and maintain'd that Circumciſion and the Works of the Law were neceſſary to Salvation; there was a Synod at *Jeruſalem* *A. M.* 4019, wherein it was concluded; *That we are ſaved by the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt.*

A. M. 4020, *A. D.* 50. The *Jews* and the *Chriſtians* were equally baniſhed *Rome*. St. *Paul* went from *Athens* to *Corinth*; and his two Epiſtles to the *Theſſalonians* were written from *Athens*, according to *Luther*, or from *Corinth*, according to ſome others.

A. M. 4021 *Collen* had the ſurname of *Agrippina* the Mother of *Nero* and Wife of *Claudius*, who was born there, or who, according to ſome, had ſent a Colony thither. St. *Paul* wrote his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* from *Epheſus* the Year following. His Epiſtle to the *Romans* was written from *Corinth*, and ſent by *Phebe*, *A. M.* 4024, *A. D.* 54, and he was bound at *Jeruſalem* the ſame Year, or the following, which is the laſt of *Claudius*'s Reign.

(*o*) *Vid Heinſ. Exercit. Sacr.*

Under NERO.

St. *James the less*, surnamed *the Just*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was thrown headlong, according to *Hegesippus*, from the Pinnacle of the Temple *A. D.* 63, and the Evangelist St. *Mark* dyed this Year according to *Eusebius*.

The Poet *Persius* dyed the 24th of *November A. D.* 64, at the Age of 29 Years; and the Poet *Lucan* cut his Veins the same Year that *Seneca* dyed, *viz.* the 66th of our Lord. Two Years after St. *Peter* was Crucified, and St. *Paul* Beheaded.

Under VESPASIAN.

HE had *Capricorn* in his Ascendant as well as *Augustus*, *Charles* V. *Charles* of *Bourbon*, and *Cosmo de Medicis* were Born also, as they say, under the same Sign, about which they who think it worth their while may (which no wise Man will) consult the Astrologers and *Macrobius* upon *Scipio*'s Dream.

Ignatius was the second Bishop of *Antioch* in *Syria*, *A. D.* 70, and *A. D.* 72 *Vespasian* and his Son *Titus* Triumphed for the taking of *Jerusalem*.

A. D. 74 The Temple of Peace, built by *Vespasian*, was Consecrated.

Asconius Pædianus, who hath left us Commentaries on *Tully*'s Orations, was then in great Esteem; and *A. D.* 77. *Cletus* was the third Bishop of *Rome* according to St. *Jerom*.

If

(*p*) *Rauthovius de prædest. Astrol.* p. 192. *Melancton in locis Manilij*, p. 416. *Philippi Caroli animadv. in A. Gellium*, p. 521. *Christianus Maria Theatro Hist.*

If we may be concluded by *Rutgersius* and *Vossius*, *Quintus Curtius* lived in the Reign of *Vespasian*. He hath written the Wars and Conquests of *Alexandria* in Ten Books; but the two first Books are lost, and supplied by *Frienshemius* and some others. There is also something wanting at the end of the 5th, in the beginning of the 6th, and in some places of the 10th, which is the last. This Author is admirable every way, and those who undertake to judge of things recommend him to Men of Wit and Quality. However some accuse him to have writ a Romance rather than a History.

Under TITUS.

(q) *Pliny* the Historian, Aged 56 Years, was suffocated with the Fire and the Ashes of *Vesuvius*, which the People of the Country call *Monte di Somma*, *Novemb.* 2. *A. D.* 81. Rabban *Simeon*, one of the ten Illustrious Rabbies, which the Emperor caused to be put to Death, was slain in the taking of *Jerusalem*. He was Son of Rabban *Gamaliel*, Master of St. *Paul*, and this *Gamaliel* was Son of Rabban *Simeon*, whose Father was *Hillel Hazazaken*, or the Ancient.

Abraham Zacuth saith that *Onkelos* the Author of the *Targum*, or the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, was Brother of *Titus*'s Sister, which *David Gauz* confutes in his Chronology. That which is certain is, that this *Targum*, as also that of *Jonathan* the Son of *Uziel*, or of some other

(q) *Pliny Epist. L.* 1. *Ep.* 16.

(r) *Buxtorf. de Abbreviat.* p. 107. *Drusius in quæstion. per Epist. Ep.* 78. *Cartwrightus in præfat. Elictor. Targumico Rabbin. Meger. Philolog. Sac.* p. 486, &c. *Hottinger. L.* 1. *Thes. Philolog. c.* 3. *Ejusdem Philol. mixta Dissert.* p. 47. *Dar. Targum. Buxtorf. Lexic. Hebr. & Buxtorf. in Op. mag.* p. 2647.

other Person who hath borrowed the Name of *Jonathan*, are in great Esteem amongst the *Jews*.

Under DOMITIAN.

Belius was the second Bishop of *Alexandria*, *A. D.* 86, and *A. D.* 96 the Apostle St. *John* was banished into *Pathmos* or *Palmasa*, one of the Isles called the *Sporades*. It was there he wrote his Revelations, and he wrote his Gospel two Years after.

Cletus Bishop of *Rome*, *Timothy*, *Onesimus* and *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, gave the last Testimonies of their Faith by Martyrdom.

About this time also flourished *Juvenal*, *Martial*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Silius*, *Italicus*, *Epictetus*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, the younger *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Quintilian*, *Flavius Josephus* the Historian, *Apollonius Tyanæus* in *Cappadocia*, *Papinius Statius* of *Naples*, who must not be confounded with *Statius Ursulus* of *Tholouze*, who lived in *Nero*'s Reign. *Flavius Josephus*, of whom something must be said here. *Josephus* was of an Illustrious Family, for by his Father he was descended from the High-Priests of *Jerusalem*; and by his Mother from the Royal Blood of the *Maccabees*. He was Born in the Reign of *Caligula*, and lived also in that of *Domitian*; so that he lived at least in the Reign of nine Emperors.

He saw the taking of *Jerusalem*, and writ seven Books of the *Jewish* Wars, of which he made a Present to *Vespasian* and *Titus*. The former gave him an honourable Pension, the Priviledge of a *Roman* Citizen, and by his Bounty gave him means and leasure to finish, under *Domitian*, his Twenty Books of the *Jewish Antiquities*, which he hath taken from the Creation of the World, and brought down to the 12th Year of *Nero*'s Reign. His Discourse of the *Empire of Reason*, or the *Martyrdom of the Maccabees* is the most Eloquent of his Works. This Historian hath had his Calumniators, as *Maldonat* the Jesuit, *Baronius*, &c. and his Partizans,

Partizans, as *Scaliger* and *Calortius*, *Juſtin* the Martyr, *Euſebius*, St. *Jerom*, *Suidas*. *Scaliger* calls him the trueſt and moſt exact of Writers. He wrote his Hiſtory in *Greek*, and alſo in *Hebrew*, according to ſome. It is a diſpute among the Learned Men, whether the Paſſage, where he ſpeaks of *Jeſus Chriſt* is ſuppoſititious or his own. He hath ſome Fables, for Inſtance, what he ſaith of *Moſes*'s Marriage with the King of *Æthiopia*'s Daughter, named *Tharbis*, who fell in Love with him upon ſeeing him fight valiantly, *&c.* And this he might have had from Tradition. He hath alſo omitted ſeveral things which are in the Holy Bible, as the coming of the Wiſe Men, the Maſſacre of the Innocents. His Stile is pure, clear and ſtrong, according to *Photius*, and he was ſo knowing, that when he was but Fourteen Years old the High-Prieſts and the Principal Men of *Jeruſalem*, conſulted him in the greateſt Difficluties of the Law. We may alſo ſee in his Writings, what he was amongſt his own Nation.

The End of the Third Book.